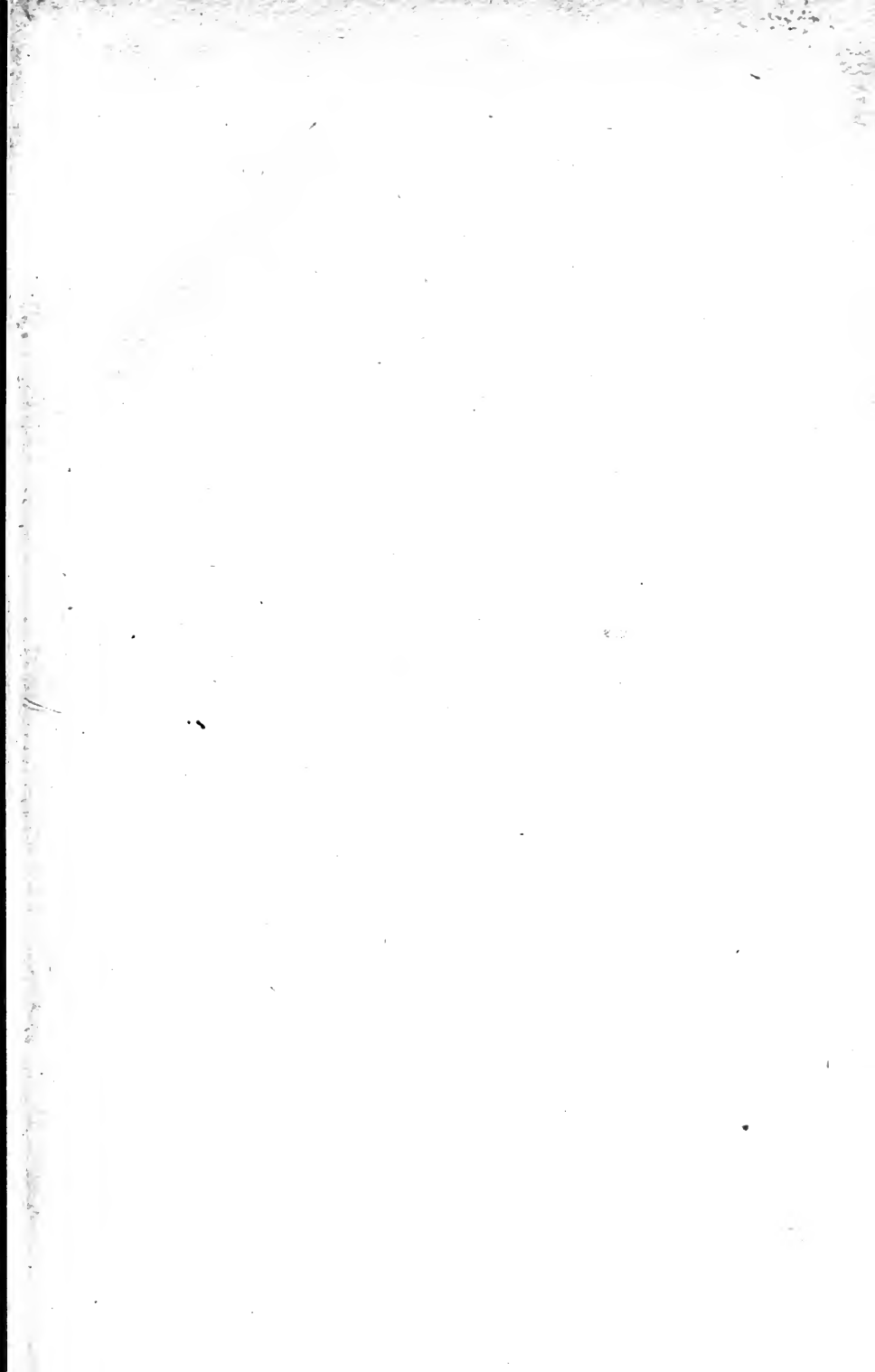
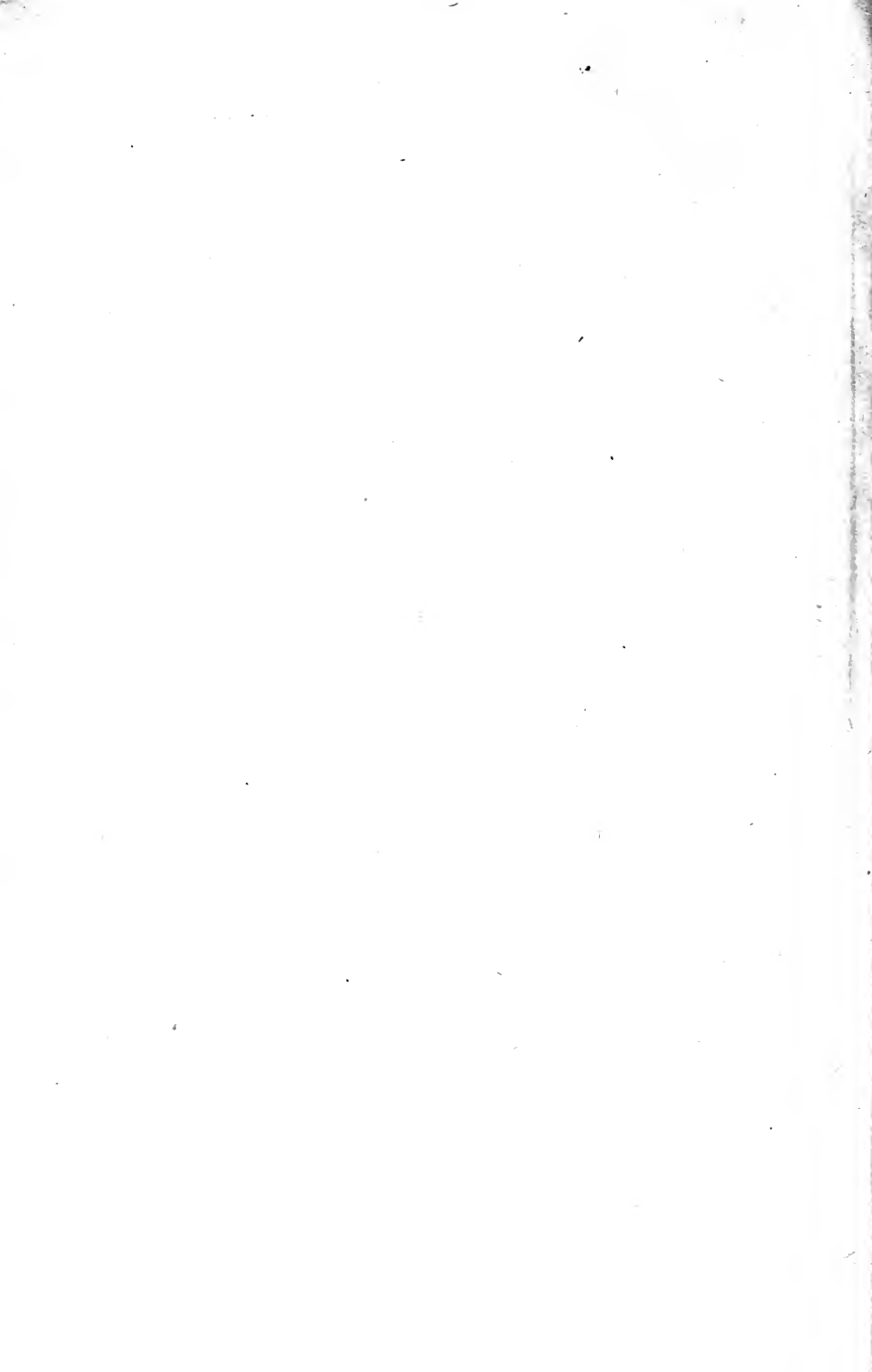


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RECORDS
OF THE
American Catholic Historical Society
OF
PHILADELPHIA

Volume XXV



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THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
OF PHILADELPHIA

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. XXIV

MARCH, 1914

NO. I

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT AT THE STATED MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER, 1913

"The American Catholic Historical Society is not a charity" is the excuse of many for not joining it. Charity being the greatest of virtues, it is edifying to see Catholics so partial to it. But charity is not the only virtue. Faith, if not so great as charity, is equally essential to happiness and it is faith to which the American Catholic Historical Society is a handmaid. Besides, even charity is aided by the Society because charity needs an atmosphere such as the American Catholic Historical Society seeks to create. The Christian virtue charity will again leave the world unless kept there by faith.

"Glory be to God on high and peace to men of good will on earth" was the angel's cry when he announced Christ's birth. Until then peace had not reigned on earth since the day when Cain raised his hand against Abel. Every man's hand was raised against every other man because charity had hidden her face. Christ again brought charity back to the world. For fifteen hundred years the religion which Christ had planted on earth subdued men's

wild nature through meekness, humility and love and created an atmosphere in which peace might dwell.

The Catholic atmosphere in which charity prospered and bloomed and in which man had attained his highest happiness has gradually been polluted by the literature which sprung from the loins of the Reformation. This literature is based upon the history of the last four hundred years as written in conspiracy against the truth for the justification of the deeds of the men who instigated and profited by the Reformation. It has taken its character from men who had lost the Christian ideal and sought ideals in nature.

That the Reformation had its origin and growth in the greed and lust of men has been proven by both Catholic and Protestant writers. It was forced upon the people in England and Germany in the same way that Mohamadanism was forced upon the Turk. The privileges of taking what belonged to another was the price paid for adhesion to the new religion. What bribery could not accomplish was brought about by hardships, cruelties and even death for those who clung to the old faith. In time, the children, grand-children and great-grand-children of men who participated in this carnival of unrighteousness having forgotten the source of their prosperity and greatness saw only the traditional justification of the deeds which brought about the change.

In England and Germany from the time of Henry VIII and Luther until quite recently history could only be written from the view point of those who were in sympathy with the Reformation. Wealth, opportunity for education, and things which lead to physical wellbeing were taken by brute force out of the hands of those who clung to the old faith and were given to those who opposed it. Literature, as it springs up from day to day, reflects the motives, aspirations and deeds of the people

of the day. That men who confiscated and appropriated the property of others in the name of religion should seek to justify their acts by misrepresentation of the truth is but natural, and one need not wonder that those who were competent to write history, who had access to original documents and who had the means and opportunity of putting their writings before the public in England and Germany during the three centuries following the Reformation should paint the Catholic religion and Catholic life in forbidding colors. Not until Lingard, in England, and Jansen, in Germany, began their epoch-making work of publishing the original documents which tell the true story of the Reformation was the long conspiracy against truth revealed. For three hundred years the public mind had been continuously poisoned and people had drunk in a deep prejudice against Catholicity.

The people of England and Germany gave up the faith of their forefathers with great reluctance, often retaining the Catholic virtues which had been inculcated into their Catholic ancestry for centuries. Much of the old Catholic faith was retained generation after generation. It is, indeed, surprising how thoroughly Catholic some of the Protestant writers of the first century after the Reformation really were. Even many of the leaders of the Reformation were Catholic except on a few points and remained so throughout their lives. With the progress of time, being cut loose from the fountain-head of truth, Protestants lost every vestige of that faith until now few of them have any faith at all. Many have drifted into a state not far removed from paganism without even believing in the existence of a God. Fortunately, most of them have retained the virtues of their Catholic ancestry but these virtues, too, are rapidly succumbing to the inevitable influence of materialism. Our age is nearing the culmination of a complete loss of

faith in Protestantism and we may live to experience the shock to society which will come with it. Materialism will not work out better for human happiness now than it did in the days of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans. As a spiritual being man needs faith for his happiness and for the best exercise of his intellect; and society, as the co-existence of human beings without discord and without preying one upon another, is only possible in beings gifted with faith and trustful in a supreme being. The fundamental law underlying human nature is that of destruction for self-preservation, a law which must be kept under control by the spiritual element in man to make human society possible. For a civilization in which the weak are protected by the strong, in which every man is a brother to his fellowman, not only is the belief in God necessary but a cultivation of Christian virtues. Loss of faith must eventually lead to the disappearance of Christian virtues from the world and a return to the civilization of the pagans.

Catholics owe it to their non-Catholic fellow-beings as well as to themselves to preserve their faith and extend it to others in the interest of Christian civilization. It is their privilege to participate in the re-writing of the history of the last four centuries in order that the truth may prevail. This is due their Catholic forebears and the martyrs who sacrificed the goods of this world in testimony of their faith, and even their lives.

The excuse of former generations of Catholics for not insisting upon the truth being woven into history because they had to struggle for their existence and were helpless in the hands of the strong and the merciless cannot be given by the Catholics of the present day, for, although even now at a disadvantage with their non-Catholic brethren in wealth and opportunity for education, they have sufficient means to force truth back into

literature. Much has been done in this connection by Catholics in England and Germany, but, although more numerous and opulent, very little by the Catholics of the United States.

We have been so busy making new Catholic history that we have found it difficult to concern ourselves with restoring truth to the history of the past. But this excuse will not stand in the balance against our duty to ourselves and to our non-Catholic brethren in the preservation of Christian civilization. The time has come when we Catholics can no longer content ourselves with the enjoyment of blessings which our faith brings us but we must become apostles of that faith in order that its leaven may again spread throughout the world.

In addition to our duty to the history of the last four centuries, we have a duty in gathering and preserving the documents necessary for the history of the Church in our own country. This duty we again owe to our non-Catholic brethren as well as to ourselves. Although our country was consecrated to Almighty God by the noble deeds of early Catholic missionaries as testified to by towns, mountains and rivers throughout the entire land, the popular every-day history ignores all Catholic influence upon the development of our institutions, our government and our people. Such history will have to be re-written with the deeds of Catholics woven into it. The omission has not been due to malice of non-Catholic writers but to carelessness and indifference of Catholics in not collecting the documents necessary for history. People who write history can only weave into it facts from authentic documents, and when documents setting forth the deeds of Catholics are not accessible it is but natural that they be left out.

A case in point is the neglect of Commodore Barry until Mr. Martin I. J. Griffith at the instigation and under

the patronage of our Society collected and published the documents bearing upon his life when he at once got recognition.

Another is the symbolical misrepresentation of history in the decorations of the Capitol of one of our great commonwealths, Pennsylvania. Had the original documents published by Lingard and by Abbot Gasquet been circulated by Catholics in places where non-Catholics could use them or even had all Catholics been familiar with them such a caricature of truth could not and would not have been perpetrated.

The collection of documents bearing upon the history of the Church is also necessary for the development of Catholic writers. We often hear the complaint that Catholic writers do not write Catholic literature and that there is a dearth of Catholic historians. Catholic writers naturally produce that kind of literature for which it is easiest to gather material. Catholic documents which would furnish material for history, biography or fiction are not available without great expense and labor and it is, therefore, practically impossible for Catholic writers to do work based upon them. The late John Gilmary Shea, one of the most conscientious and competent historical writers of modern times, from a high sense of duty to Mother Church, spent the energy of a long life gathering documents for a history of the Catholic Church in the United States and twice was compelled to sell his collection for the support of his family before he even had been able to use it for the purpose for which he gathered it. It was only through the aid of the Catholic hierarchy of the United States that he was finally able to write what he did. His great talents were lost in a measure to the world because he did not have the support of his fellow Catholics.

The American Catholic Historical Society was organized nearly thirty years ago for a continuous effort at collecting Catholic documents independent of any individual, going on from generation to generation, with cumulative force. Its existence makes such experiences as that of John Gilmary Shea impossible since what is collected will remain together. It has not met with the support which so worthy an undertaking merits. Considering its vast field of work and that work's importance, this is surprising. No doubt this lack of support has been due to want of proper understanding and appreciation of what the Society aims at. Had those who excuse themselves on the plea that the Society is not a charity fully understood its objects and purposes and what the fulfilment of them means to both Catholics and non-Catholics they would have given it support.

Our members should bring the existence and the purposes of our Society to the attention of all who can afford to join and persuade them to become members. The Society has not been able to do very much on account of financial weakness. With sufficient money it could make investigations in all parts of the world, collect documents from every quarter, publish and put into circulation the most important documents which it would gather, and place them in printed form in libraries and in the hands of writers so that the truth being within the reach of all would have to shine forth through current literature. Our Society ought to have archivists in the principal libraries of Europe as well as in the most important libraries of this country. It ought to stimulate writers and support them if necessary. This would not be difficult if everyone who can afford to participate would lend a hand.

LAWRENCE F. FLICK.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS OF THE
AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FOR THE YEAR 1913

THE Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of American Catholic Historical Society cannot fail to have a certain sameness about them, as they must state such bare facts as that the Board met regularly from January to December, excepting during the month of August, that the various Committees attended faithfully to the duties devolving on such Committees, that new members were elected, that some old members were lost by resignation or death, that the "Records" were published regularly, and that the Society was always in need of sufficient money for carrying on fully its legitimate work. These few positive facts do not vary from year to year, although the details *can* and *do* vary, and the Committees in their activities must necessarily present new aspects of their work. A brief review of some of the details of Board and Committee activities shows that at the first meeting of the Board in the year just closing, the appointment of the Committees was announced, and by the action of the Board at this same, January, meeting, the Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, the Rev. Wm. J. McCallen, Ph. D., was made editor of the "Records."

At the February meeting the Rev. Francis P. Siegfried was elected Vice-President, as that office was then vacant, and it therefore became the duty of the Board to fill the vacancy.

At the March meeting the office of Corresponding Secretary became vacant through the resignation of the Rev. H. T. Henry, Litt. D., and the Board elected the Rev. Wm. Lallou to that office.

At the September meeting the President reported that at the regular time for appointing the Trustees of the "Endowment Fund," he had reappointed Messrs. Willcox, Sullivan, Horn, McCaffrey, and Speckman.

At the November meeting in accordance with the By-Laws the names of candidates for the various offices, duly nominated, were presented to the Board.

Every Committee, standing or special, has had a year of active work, as had every officer.

Mr. Joseph M. Engel, Chairman of the Committee on Finance was never idle, though it is needless to say that he could have handled more money with great ease, and although our treasury was never empty, it also could have accommodated a much greater amount of specie.

The Committee on Hall, Mrs. Wm. J. Doyle, Chairman, did most efficient work, not only attending to the repairs of the house made necessary by the usual wear and tear, but also raising the money for partly defraying the expenses of such repairs, and through the generosity of Mr. James P. Considine, a member of the Publication Committee, the furniture that needed repairing was properly mended.

The Committee had some interior painting done, and in conjunction with the Committee on Library and Cabinet gave a well attended "Tea" on Memorial Day, and took charge of the reception and entertainment at the lecture given on April 9th.

The Committee on Library and Cabinet, Mrs. Honor Walsh, Chairman, attended to its duties in a highly satisfactory manner. The Committee feeling that there is need of a trained librarian, advised that such a one be

engaged, and took various steps looking to that end, but has not yet succeeded in securing a suitable person for the position. The engagement of an expert cataloguer has also been recommended by this Committee, and efforts are now being made to obtain such a cataloguer, the Board having authorized the employment of one, as there is a wealth of material in manuscripts, books, prints, pamphlets, pictures, maps, newspapers, etc., etc., in the upper floors of the building which needs to be systematically classified and arranged. This energetic Committee is also making an effort to obtain from leading English, French, German and American publishers books for review in the RECORDS. The Committee, through the courtesy of Monsignor McDevitt, had obtained the use of a room in the Catholic Girls' High School, in which to store the valuable manuscripts, etc., now stored in the attic of this building, so as to preserve them in a fire-proof room. Two wagon-loads of such material have been already removed, the moving having been done gratuitously by Mr. James A. Munday, who generously donated the use of the vans and the services of two men for that purpose. A limited number of books were also purchased on the recommendation of this Committee. There have been many accessions to the Library and Cabinet by donations and purchase; a full report is appended.

The Publication Committee, Mr. Edward J. Galbally, Chairman, reports in a highly effective and satisfactory manner to the Society every three months in the issue of the magazine of the Society, the RECORDS, and the Committee on Historical Research, the Rev. Wm. J. McCallen, Chairman, practically does the same, as the two Committees are closely united in their work: the Historical Research Committee collecting, examining and selecting matter suitable for publication, and the

Publication Committee seeing that the material is published in due time. Only those who have had experience in such work as that performed by the Publication and Research Committees can understand the vast amount of work required to edit a magazine, and to have its 2000 copies ready on the date appointed for its publication and that by-product of the Publication Committee, the securing of "advertisements," the revenue from which helps to lighten the burden entailed by the printing of the magazine.

The employment of a stenographer was made necessary by the rapidly accumulating work of the Society, it being felt that Miss McGowan, though she is officially designated the Clerk, yet who is the right hand of almost every officer and Committee, should have some assistance in the mere routine manual work of the office. It is only a matter of ordinary justice to mention in terms of the highest praise, the great ability, faithfulness and efficiency of Miss McGowan in attending to all the details of the work of the Society that come under her active and energetic supervision. Her assistant, Miss Smith, also merits commendation for her services.

During the year the membership of the Society has been decreased by the deaths of a few of its members; some of them were prominent in the Church. The list includes:

The Right Rev. Monsignor D. O'Callaghan, of Boston,	The Rev. D. J. Kehoe, D. D., Mr. Thos. F. Tierney,
The Right Rev. Monsignor Wm. P. McQuaid, also of Boston,	Mr. John Cooney, Mr. John M. Degelman,
The Rev. James O'Reilly, of Downingtown, Pa.	Mrs. P. S. Dooner.

To offset the small number of deaths and resignations, the Society had the accession of the following named persons:

- Mr. Jeremiah J. Sullivan, Jr.,
Mr. Patrick James O'Keeffe,
The Rev. Jas. A. Gallagher,
The Rev. Patrick J. Gallagher,
The Rev. Leo P. MacGinley, D.D.,
The Rev. Wm. M. Sullivan,
Jos. P. Gaffney, Esq.,
Mrs. John M. Campbell,
Dr. Edward A. Mallon,
The Rev. Frederick M. Schneider,
Mr. N. Harper Steward,
Mrs. John Carroll Sheahan,
Mr. Robert Higgins,
Mr. John H. McClatchey,
Mr. Thomas F. Reilly,
Mr. William Simpson,
Miss Katherine Brégy,
The Rev. Jos. S. Kelly,
The Rev. Wm. I. McGarvey,
The Rev. Thos. C. Brennan,
Mr. John J. Ferreck,
Mr. David Lavis,
Mr. Wm. Horn, Jr.,
Mr. Norris J. Horn,
Miss Sophie M. Koecker,
Mrs. M. A. McManus,
Miss Mary Gallagher,
Mrs. M. A. Curran,
Miss K. M. Curran,
Miss Jane McHugh,
Mr. Edward Loughran,
Mrs. Thos. J. Costello,
The Rev. Joseph A. Murphy,
Joseph A. Gray, Esq.,
J. A. McCarthy, Esq.,
M. M. Burke, Esq.,
Miss Margaret G. O'Hara,
Mr. H. L. Murphey,
Mr. Francis X. Hauck,
Mr. D. Sullivan,
Mrs. Joseph P. Kremp,
Very Rev. John P. Chidwick,
Mrs. Lindley Johnson,
Mr. F. J. Michell, Sr.,
Mr. Wm. Loeffler,
Mr. Henry J. Drueding,
Mr. D. F. Durkin, Jr.,
Mrs. Thos. S. Gates,
Miss Elizabeth G. Montague,
Mr. Henry F. Clark,
Mrs. Wm. Oliver,
Miss Mary C. Horn,
Mr. Herman Voss,
Mrs. R. K. Severson,
Mr. Thos. J. Walsh,
Mr. Benjamin F. Whittaker,
Dr. Edward Strecker,
Mr. P. J. Coleman,
The Right Rev. J. J. O'Connor,
D. D.,
Mr. Michael Freney,
Rev. Wm. P. F. Dooley,
Miss Mary O'Donnell,
The Right Rev. Owen B. Corrigan, D. D.,
Mr. John C. Muth,
The Rev. Jos. A. Gorman, S. J.,
Mr. Jos. A. Dolan,
Mr. Wm. A. McDonald,
Rev. D. A. Morrissey,
Miss Eleanor McKenna,
Mr. Harry Schmitt,
Mr. Magnus H. Brown,
Mr. Michael I. Weller,
Mr. John N. Degelman,
Mrs. R. Mason Lisle,
Mr. John E. Mulherin,
Mrs. P. S. Dooner,
A. V. D. Watterson, Esq.,
Mr. D. I. Broderick,
Mr. Jas. A. McHenry,
Mr. John E. McPartland,
Mr. Thos. J. Crumbie,
Hon. Jas. J. O'Neill,
Mr. L. F. Holtzman,
Mr. Martin P. Glynn,
Mr. Chas. A. Labor,
Mr. Edw. J. Murphy,
Mr. John O'Dea,
Mr. C. A. Lane, Jr.,

Mr. Frank M. Longstreth,	Mrs. C. A. Lane, Jr.,
Mrs. Frank M. Longstreth,	Mr. H. Gallagher,
Rev. John E. Flood,	Mrs. John I. Rogers,
Mrs. Margaret F. Fay,	Miss Marie Quinn.
Guild of St. Luke, St. Cosmas and	Mr. Nicholas Dietz,
St. Damian,	Mr. Wm. P. Denegre,
Miss Clementina Pent,	Mr. John J. McDevitt,
Mr. M. F. Hanson,	Mr. John J. Rahilly.
Mr. Christopher J. Kelly,	

That the Society is not merely a local organization is amply proved by the wide extent of country traversed by the new members. Thus New York State is represented by Brooklyn, Geneva and New York; Illinois by Chicago; Texas by San Antonio; Massachusetts by Springfield; Maryland by Baltimore, Catonsville and Cumberland; Ohio by Somerset; New Jersey by Newark; Connecticut by Ansonia and New Haven; the District of Columbia by Washington and Pennsylvania by Bala, Braddock, Carbondale, Chester, Ebensburg, Jenkintown, Lansdowne, Merion, Morton, Norristown, Ogontz, Paoli, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Reading, Rosemont, Ridley Park, Sharon Hill, and Wyncote.

Much credit is due to those few active members who secured so many additions to our Society. I may mention that eighty-six of these new members were gained through the efforts of the President, Dr. L. F. Flick.

The Society came before the public on November 14th, when the eminent English scholar, Wilfrid Ward, lectured in the Academy of Music on "Four English Cardinals", the lecturer having come to America on the invitation of the Society.

Our Society is still hospitable to other Catholic organizations not so fortunate as we are, in that they have no home of their own. The latest recipients of our hospitality being "The St. Francis Country House Association", and the "Junior Auxiliary" of the same Association.

tion, which are to hold regular meetings on the first Monday and the first Tuesday of each month.

A not uninteresting feature of each meeting of the Board of Managers is the number of communications received from other organizations, historical and otherwise, and individuals. A few of their names will show the wide extent of the correspondence;—The Nebraska Historical Society; Catholic Colonization Society: Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, North Carolina Historical Society; Holy Rosary Convent, Minneapolis; Father Feith of Honolulu; Colonial Institution of New London; and the Federation of Pennsylvania Historical Societies. The Historical Societies usually are anxious to secure our "Records" in exchange for their publications.

In addition to these communications from Historical and other Societies, many private requests for information have been answered and those coming in person to secure data are given the privilege of obtaining such. The questions, the information sought and given show the wide usefulness of the Society to those in search of historic Catholic data. A few instances of the year will suffice to make clear this really important function of the Society. An inquiry came for information concerning the Father Badin letters published in the RECORDS. Two quotations from letters still unpublished were sent in reply. Statistics of the Catholic population, etc., of 1863 in the dioceses of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Erie were found and copied for a well-known clergyman of Philadelphia engaged in historic investigation. Information sought and given as to the opening of St. Mary's Church. Information sought and obtained about Irish Emigration. Information sought and obtained about a prominent Philadelphia Catholic and his picture secured from RECORDS. Information sought, but not obtained, of the record of the marriage of the grandparents of the seeker,

no such record being found in the published registers of St. Joseph's, St. Augustine's or Holy Trinity, though all were carefully searched. Information sought and found, in *Jesuit Relations* owned by the Society, of the Indian maiden, Katherine Tekawita. Information sought and found by an inquirer, whose branch of his family is no longer Catholic, of the record of marriages and baptisms of a number of his ancestors who were Catholics. The records concerning the architect of the first St. Augustine's Church, Nicholas Fagan, are being searched for by a descendant.

Some few come to read, besides those who come to seek data, all of which shows that the founders of this Society builded even better than they knew when they planned a Society for collecting and preserving Catholic History, and for making such history available to the seeker after truth.

I will conclude by asking for a continued and a generous support of the Society, and for an active, intelligent, and unremitting interest in its aims and labors.

JANE CAMPBELL, *Secretary*.

NEW MEMBERS (since December).

Miss Josephine L. Borie, Pennsylvania.

Thomas James Meagher, Pennsylvania.

Wm. T. Dempsey, Pennsylvania.

Chas. B. Connolly, Pennsylvania.

Mrs. John S. Newbold, Pennsylvania.

Patrick Martin, California.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1914.

President—LAWRENCE F. FLICK, M. D.

Vice-President—REV. FRANCIS P. SIEGFRIED.

Corresponding Secretary—REV. WM. J. LALLOU.

Recording Secretary—MISS JANE CAMPBELL.

Treasurer—IGNATIUS J. DOHAN.

MANAGERS.

The Right Reverend Monsignor P. R. McDevitt.
The Very Rev. H. T. Drumgoole, LL. D.
Walter George Smith, Esq.
Mr. Samuel Castner, Jr.
J. Percy Keating, Esq.
The Rev. Wm. J. McCallen, Ph. D.
Mr. Jos. M. Engel.
Mr. Edward J. Galbally,
Mrs. Wm. J. Doyle.
Mrs. Honor Walsh.

COMMITTEES.

Committee on Library and Cabinet.

Mrs. Honor Walsh, *Chairman*.
Mrs. Jas. A. Mundy.
Miss Jane M. McHugh.
Miss Katherine Brégy.

Committee on Historical Research.

The Rev. Wm. J. McCallen, Ph. D., *Chairman*.
Right Rev. Monsignor P. R. McDevitt.
Very Rev. Thos. C. Middleton, D. D., O. S. A.
Rev. F. P. Siegfried.
Rev. Wm. J. Lallou.
Rev. E. J. Curran.
Mr. P. A. Kinsley.
Dr. Edward A. Mallon.

Committee on Finance.

Mr. Jos. M. Engel, *Chairman*.
Mr. John F. Skelly.
Mr. Jeremiah J. Sullivan, Jr.

Committee on Publication.

Mr. Edward J. Galbally, *Chairman*.

Mr. James P. Considine.

Joseph P. Gaffney, Esq.

Committee on Hall.

Mrs. Wm. J. Doyle, *Chairman*.

Mrs. Ignatius J. Dohan.

Mrs. James A. Donnelly.

Mrs. John J. McKenna.

Mrs. Lawrence F. Flick.

EUROPEAN CATHOLIC OPINION ON SLAVERY *

GENTLEMEN AND COWORKERS: You seldom allow the far distant echoes of foreign politics to reach you. Your presbytery, which I so love to visit, is the resting place of peace, of contemplation, of prayer, and of charity. During Lent you do not dwell in your parsonage, all day you dwell in your church; holding yourselves, so to say, upright before men, and on your knees in the presence of God to preach and to pray, invoking for men the notice and pardon of God, beseeching men to think with you upon the death of Jesus Christ, and to unite with the sufferings of his cross the sufferings of their lives.

I do not come to withdraw your attention in the midst of your pious engagements. I come to beg for a prayer. Prayer! that is our politics; that is our great interest in the events of this world. To speak of God to men, and to speak of men to God, that is our mission. And surely it is no small matter, even in the order of earthly interests, so ardently contended about amongst men; for in it is God, who holds in his hands the hearts of people and rulers, and bends them as He will; it is He who now sorrowfully abandons them to their course, and now stops them on the verge of the precipice and draws them back, willing or unwilling, through his

* A reprint of an old and very rare pamphlet containing a Pastoral Letter of the Rt. Rev. Félix Antoine Philibert Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, to his Clergy on the subject of the Civil War in the United States, April 6, 1862.

mercy; whether a lightning flash of what is happening comes to show at a glance the depths of sin into which they are precipitating themselves, or that a holier light endows them with true wisdom.

Be it as it may, gentlemen, the most unthinking know well that affairs do not move on here below without the powerful concurrence of circumstances, which they call the hits of chance, but we call the direction and the act of God. They too often look upon them as blind men. More enlightened, we do not cease to raise to Heaven a voice trustful and peaceful for the happiness, the progress, and future of the whole world.

We have heard praying for Syria and for Poland, for England and for Russia, for China and for Africa; for the victories of France, and for the victories of the Faith; for those who suffer, who weep, who hope; for those who groan and who pray with us, and also as well for those who do not pray, who do not groan, who close their eyes, who forget!

This day, Sabbath of the Passion, at this hour, when the standard of the cross is hoisted over all our temples, at the sight of this holy emblem of deliverance and of safety, I say to myself, My God died upon the cross for all mankind, and yet there are men who still are crucified. He died to deliver all from bondage, and there are men—the noise which is now making about this great question painfully recalls to me—there are millions of men who are still in slavery.

Good Friday is approaching. That day, the Catholic church, standing at the foot of the cross, with eyes fixed on those extended arms which embrace the world, will commend to our Lord, in sublime prayer, Christians, Heretics, Jews, Pagans; and we will utter with her these noble words: "Let us pray God the Father, omnipotent, that he may cleanse the world from all errors; may re-

move disease, keep off famine, open the prison doors, and break the chains in sunder."

That is the true spirit of the Gospel and of Jesus Christ; is not that what the divine Redeemer of mankind announced as his mission to the world? "The Spirit of the Lord is bestowed on me," said he, "to teach the gospel to the poor, to console those who weep, to cure the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and to those who are in bondage, liberty."

And, after the Divine Master, is it not Saint Paul, one of his most fervent disciples, who shouted forth to the Pagan world the sublime outcry, "There exist no longer either masters or slaves, for we are all brothers in Jesus Christ." Well, even at this day, in Christian lands, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, after those words of Jesus Christ, after that cry of St. Paul, there still are slaves!

Gentlemen, it is for this miserable and cruelly oppressed portion of humanity that I come to ask your prayers. Yes, let us pray; let us pray for those poor slaves. And if I feel myself impelled, at this hour, to commend to you this sad and holy cause, and to beg your prayers, it is because of the holy season in which we are, and also of news recently received from distant countries, where this grave question is sorely agitated, and towards which the attention of all Europe is directed.

The truth is, that the old and the new continents are disturbed. Politicians harangue for and against; trade is interrupted; blood flows in civil war. We, gentlemen, pray. In great social crises, in which we cannot remain indifferent lookers-on, it is prayer alone that becomes our great duty.

Do not suppose, sirs, that I may take part in the lamentable quarrel which divides the United States of America. I am told the North merits little more of

sympathy than the South; that questions of commercial tariffs, or of political predominance, have had more influence than the question of slavery on the secession, out of which the civil war has issued. I am assured that the abolition party has rendered itself odious by its extravagances, while the slave-owners often are men of good faith and of good hearts. I am told of more Catholics at the South than at the North, and of citizens enlisted in both armies, animated by equal patriotism, who, on either side, sincerely believe that they are acting justly.

It is said if the Union be reconstructed the emancipation of the slaves is not certain, and if the separation becomes complete, that emancipation is not impossible. It is wished to persuade me that the interests of our manufacturers are with the South, of our commerce with the North; that we ought to desire the upholding and the union of a people whom we aided to set free, and which serves to counterpoise other nations; or, on the other side, that we should fear the aggrandizement of a people whose example and encroaching spirit menaces the world.

I don't know all that. But what I do know is, that there are still four millions of slaves in the United States, two millions in the rest of America, together six millions of slaves in Christian countries eighteen hundred years after the Crucifixion. *What I do know is that the horrors of civil war have been let loose by this fearful question, and that the peace of the world is threatened, and is already disturbed.*

And what I am more happy to know is, that by a recent and important act—message of the 8th March, sent to Congress by the President of the United States, and adopted by a great majority—measures prudent, equitable, peaceful, have been proposed to put an end to slavery, and passed.

Compensation is proposed to all the States which agree to undertake in their territory the gradual abolition of slavery. No one can tell what will be the consequence of this proposition, because it depends on the responses of the States. No one is under compulsion; a limit is assigned to the evil, and a vent is opened to it. For the first time in sixty years the Central Government takes part and commits the whole nation to a vigorous effort against the evil.

Without being solved the question is then seriously under consideration, the step has been made, a hope is opened. That makes another motive for me, and an inexpressible need to pray God that he may deign to bless an enterprise, the pacific solution of which must be ardently desired.

I understand the objections of those who plead for slavery; I do not desire to discuss them at length. Not that they do not tell me that slaves are happy, and besides that established facts become lawful through duration of time. Slaves are happy. Yes, perhaps, under good masters; they eat, they sleep, they have some hours of repose, perhaps even may be dissipated at pleasure; but have they the domestic hearth, have they the family, have they freedom. Poor disinterested ones of the human family, they have lost not only the right of primogeniture, but all rights, and because they are sometimes allowed a plate of lentils, proclamation is made that they are happy.

As for the doctrine of established facts I have too often attacked it, in its applications to the temporalities of the church, to accept its extension to its spiritual domain, which it most cherishes. Immortal souls! Ah! the church knows the price of souls; and if she has sometimes made sacrifice of part of her rights, even the most incontestable, when the higher interest of her mis-

sion has not made it her duty to maintain them it has been to reserve the right of saying to all the world, with all the ardor of her love, "Your souls, give me your souls and keep the rest." *Da mihi animas, cætera tolle tibi.*

Nor let me be asked either to discuss the theoretic questions of slavery; let me not be reminded that all ancient social conditions have rested upon that; do not seek to demonstrate to me, by force of hypothesis that can never be realized, that slavery is not lawful in itself, considered in a certain way, under certain conditions.

I let alone abstract theories and I look at the facts. I look at the numbers of times those conditions have been met in history, and why humanity being constituted such as it is, they might occur. I look not at the exceptional case, but at the state, the foundation even, of life and of human dignity, condemned by slavery to remediless abasement.

I do not trouble myself about abstractions and hypotheses. Certainly, I would have much to say upon the origin of this obstinate and protracted universal plague spot. How did man reduce man to slavery? I defy its explanation to me unless by original sin. How did the slave again become the equal of his master? I defy its explanation unless through the Redemption. Slavery is so odious that its beginning cannot be comprehended, and it is so convenient that its ending cannot be comprehended.

If I touched upon the theory, I would show that the unity of the human family, which with us is not an opinion, but a dogma—let it be well understood, a dogma; and even one of the grounds of our faith has become also a dogma of science—I would show that the unity of the human family, the principle of dignity, of equality, of freedom, of humanity among mankind, condemns and

rebukes slavery; and I would refer to the works of Blumenbach and of Tiedemann, of Humboldt and of Geoffrey St. Hilaire; I would call upon my learned brothers M. de Flourens and M. Quatresages, and the celebrated report of the Duke de Broglie on this great subject. I would refer also to the admirable work of Mr. Wallon upon the "Slavery of Antiquity," and to the great and liberal work of M. Augustin Cochin upon "Modern Slavery." Here are men and writers of other authority than those vain sophists who alone at this time, through hatred of Christ and His Church, attack, with all the efforts of science in desperation, this Christian dogma of the unity of our race. With our dogma must perish the dignity, the fraternity, the liberty of mankind. But let us pass from the theory.

I do not wish to answer any thing that may be objected in favor of this sad cause. I do not wish to discuss doctrinal subtleties; but I ask that the truths of experience be not rejected. Because, it is shown by experience, that slavery has never been the initiation and the training of liberty; the longer it endures the more it oppresses; the wider it extends the more it degrades: and never unravels itself by its sole action. You refuse to set slaves free, because you say they are incapable of liberty, and I, I tell you that this incapacity is kept alive by servitude, if not created by it, and that it causes the slave to stagnate under it.

It is also the teaching of experience that the slavery of the day—the slavery of blacks—has an origin, and a consequence, equally detestable. Its origin was the treaty, the ignoble and cruel bargain condemned by Pius II^d in 1482, by Paul III^d in 1557, by Urban VIIIth in 1630, by Benedict XIVth in 1741, by Gregory XVIth in 1839. The consequence is the destruction of the family tie, condemned by the curses of every humane heart;

the destruction of liberty, not only of the slave but the master, for it goes the length of forbidding the master to teach the slave to read and to write in favor of liberty.

There are, then, on the same earth with myself children of God and children of men like myself, saved by the same blood that I am, destined to the same Heaven that I am, five or six millions of my fellow-beings, in the United States, in Brazil, in Cuba, in Surinam, who are slaves; aged people, vigorous men, women, young girls, children. Just Heaven! Is it not yet time, after eighteen centuries of Christianity, for us all to begin to practice the ever enduring law, "Do not to another that which you would not he should do to you: and that which you would your brothers should do for you, do ye for them?" Is it not at length time that we should lend our ears to that great teaching of our master, "Love ye one another; by this token shall ye be known as my disciples, if ye love one another?"

After eighteen centuries we repeat these expressions to slaves to calm their angry feelings, we shall do so again; but apparently this gives us the right to remind the masters of them in order to move them to do justice.

Since Jesus Christ, St. Paul, and the Apostles, laid down the principles of universal emancipation, the most illustrious preachers of the faith, the most distinguished bishops, the most enlightened of the pontiffs, have spoken in their order. Understand thoroughly, you who daily calumniate the church, that if the church rebukes the outbursts of licentious minds, human liberty is dear to it; for liberty, in the scheme of God, who has not created man an imbecile slave, liberty is the source from which issues every social virtue; the source of all moral greatness; of all civilization; of all progress; and

the church, true mother of human civilization, the church which has built up modern social organizations, deploras all that injures or impedes the march of humanity, daughter of God, and blesses all that aids, improves, and elevates her. Behold the spirit of the Gospel, and the spirit of the Church! and the fascination of interest, which alone explains the continuation in Christian lands of the plague which I deplore, cannot prevent me from reminding the world of the pure and true inspiration of Christianity.

We have a right, also, we priests, to lift up our voices, and to complain of the part which in this matter has been forced upon other priests. You priests, of my diocese, who offer the Gospel to families formed by the Gospel, in the midst of a well regulated and free social condition, on which Christianity daily spreads its benefits, you who unceasingly remind those who surround you of the sacred equality of duties, of rights, and of hopes, do you imagine the situation of the Catholic missionary between the masters and the slaves?

Suspected by the one class, or suspected by the other, preaching to masters that justice which his interest counteracts; submission, to those whose chains he should desire to break; attempting to elevate the purposes, the dignity of beings without liberty, abased in their own eyes, the preacher there fills a very sad mission. Ah? most truly, faith is good for all; I pity those, whoever they may be, whose life tends to its decline without this light; with faith we can at least say to slaves, there is no condition which has not Heaven for its end. Religion softens even the lot of the poor slave, by softening the heart of the master, but groans over a condition which keeps the man in a state of brutal abasement.

We are ready to preach to the condemned—to follow them on to the scaffold, to live among galley slaves, to evangelize the idiot, to dress the sores of the wounded and the sick; we are ready to console the slaves, we love them, and they love us, but we abhor slavery. I regard with admiration the bishops and the priests of countries where slavery exists, because I have confidence in them, in their courage, in their conscientiousness, in their worth, in the honor of their sacerdotal character. They suffer because they know, as I do, that our religion is the religion of the free man.

Let us, therefore, be allowed to pray. Pray, sirs, pray earnestly, that a specific solution of the lamentable problem of slavery may be devised, matured, consummated. I am not ignorant that this work is at once less advanced, and still more difficult than it seems. Those masters, they should be indemnified; those slaves, they must be civilized. I acknowledge, among the masters (God save me from blaming them too much) many act in good faith; many are humane; they have not made the situation; they regret it; they deserve to be indemnified, and now that is proposed to them. Those slaves, when they shall be freed, their social organization will be a question, and slavery is in nowise prepared for that; but the priests of Christ Jesus, and all Christians—men of good hearts—will occupy themselves with that. In a word, I know the difficulties, but they are exaggerated; we forget that interests, mutual wants, produce among men relations, ties, needful agreement; but difficulties exist nevertheless, and are serious. But it is exactly because the work is not plain, and is not easy of accomplishment that we must pray that it may be simplified and may be achieved.

My reverend brethren, the Bishops of the province of Bordeaux, assembled in council at La Rochelle in 1853,

with the new Bishops of the colonies, three years after the emancipation of the slaves in the French possessions, pronounced this solemn declaration, approved by the Holy See :

“ The Catholic Church has ever deplored the cruel slavery in which a multitude of men are detained, to the great detriment of their souls, and has never ceased to labor to remedy so great a calamity.”

I place under the protection of these noble words, and of so many other apostolic utterances, the ardent vow which I offer that this cruel slavery may cease at length throughout all Christian countries.

Alas ! sirs, I know it, slaves are not the only oppressed among men. There are countries even in Europe—there is Ireland, a Poland, there is a Syria—where oppression takes a different form without being a smaller evil. My compassion for one does not exclude compassion for others. I do not understand those men who resign themselves to an evil from the embarrassment of choosing between the different reasons for indignation. No, do not let us take one mischief as the excuse for another mischief. Let us labor to destroy the one, then afterward the other. For me, I will never yield to anything that is evil in fact ; I deplore all, and would I had power to remedy all ; and if my life be long enough, with God’s grace, I will consecrate it wholly to contributing my feeble efforts and labor to cause the disappearance, one by one, of the plagues which afflict the human race. If I could act, I would act. If I could speak, I would speak. If I can only pray, at least I will offer up my prayer to God. Here, sirs, you have the reason of my asking you to pray, especially for those in slavery.

In those touching universal prayers which you read each day in the evening exercise, and in which the

church commends to God the traveler, the sick, the agonized, the afflicted of every kind, after the afflicted commend in your hearts the slaves. I ask it of you, sirs—I ask it of all my diocesans. The moment seems propitious. Pray God to accomplish the work begun, and if your prayers are not heard to-day repeat them to-morrow, until at last they be accepted of Him whom we do not vainly call the most merciful—the God on high.

Accept, cherished coworkers, the fresh assurance of my deep and affectionate devotion to you in the Lord.

FELIX, Bishop of Orleans.

ORLEANS, *Sunday of Passion Week, April 6, 1862.*

CATHOLIC MISSION AT IVY MILLS

BY JOSEPH WILLCOX

A brief sketch of the Catholic Station in the Willcox house at Ivy Mills, in Delaware County, Pennsylvania, was printed in these "Records" in Vol. VI, 1896, in which it was stated that Rev. Patrick Kenny attended the private chapel there from 1804 to 1840. The following has been copied from the records of baptisms and marriages performed there since the latter date until 1858, for the purpose of ascertaining the names of the pastors who officiated at this chapel:

Bernard McCabe, Pastor. From March 7, to Nov. 6, 1841.

Edward J. Sourin, Pastor. Nov. 7, 1841.

Patrick F. Sheridan. Feb. 6, 1842, to Mar. 6, 1843.

Hugh P. Fitzsimons, Pastor. May 7, 1843, to Apr. 7, 1844.

Mathew G. Gibson, Pastor. Aug. 3, 1844.

B. Rollando, C.M. Dec. 1, 1844.

Anthony Peneo, C.M., Aug. 3, 1845.

G. O'Hara, Pastor. Nov. 9, 1845.

Daniel F. Devitt, P.P., St. Patricii. Apr. 18, 1846.

Mariano Maller, C.M. July 26, 1846.

A. Rossie. Oct. 10, 1847, to Oct. 29, 1848.

Thadeus Amat, C.M. Dec. 24, 1848, to Oct. 13, 1850.

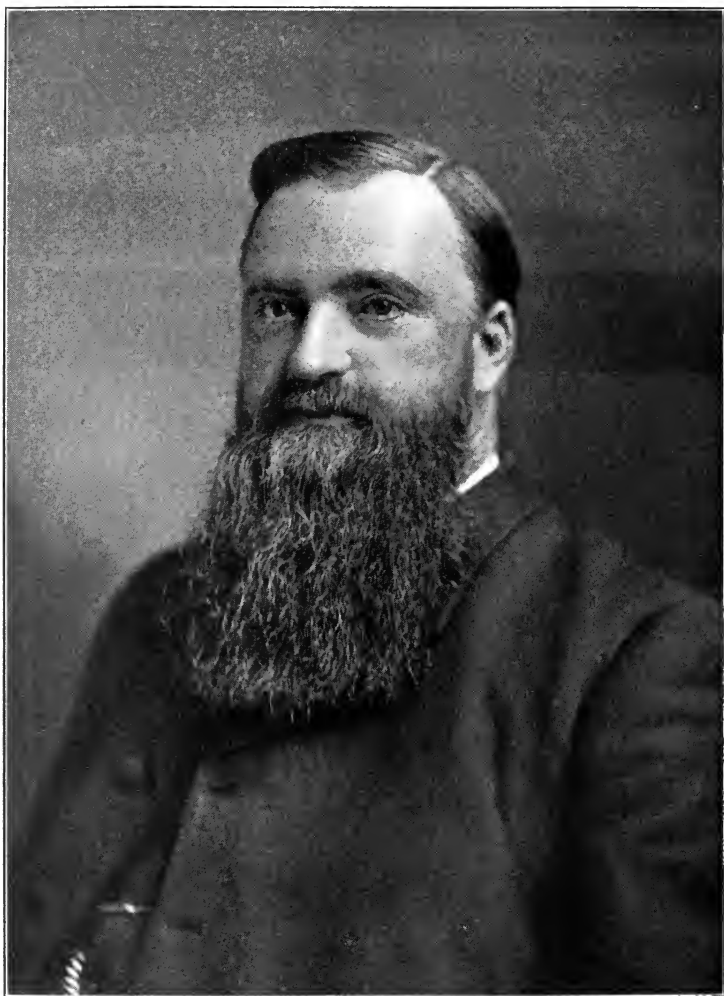
Arthur Haviland, Pastor. To Mar. 26, 1854, except during interval from July 24 to Aug. 8, 1853, when Rev. Joseph Balf officiated.

In April, 1854, Rev. Patrick Fitzmaurice officiated. Then Rev. Charles McEnroe to May, 1856.

Rev. Charles Maugin was pastor from October, 1856, to July 29, 1858.

In addition to the above list Rev. J. B. Lornatore administered baptism on Aug. 5, 1849, and Sept. 5, 1852, and Rev. C. Creighton, S.J., on April 23, 1854.





THE RIGHT REV. MGR. DENNIS J. FLYNN, LL.D.

RIGHT REV. MGR. DENNIS J. FLYNN, LL. D.

Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dennis J. Flynn, LL. D., was born near Louisville, Ky., Sept. 17, 1856, and, having made his preliminary studies in the parochial schools and St. Xavier's Institute of that city, he went to Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md. The college course completed, he studied theology in the seminary department of the same institution and he was ordained for the diocese of Wilmington, by Rt. Rev. Thomas A. Becker, in St. Peter's Cathedral of that diocese, June 23, 1883. As assistant to the venerable Father Reilly, pastor of St. Mary's, by his zealous labors and magnetic eloquence he soon became known far and wide. A few years afterwards Father Reilly died and Father Flynn was made pastor of Galena, Md., whence he was transferred in 1894 to Wilmington, to succeed Rev. George Bradford as pastor of St. Patrick's. He took a great interest in the work of Catholic education and soon erected a handsome and commodious parochial school. Many other improvements having been made in the parish, his intense desire to devote himself exclusively to teaching brought him back to his *Alma Mater*, where, with the permission of his Bishop, he became professor in 1898-99, then Vice-President and Treasurer, and, finally, in 1905, President. His activity was untiring and during his administration were begun and completed, under the supervision of Rev. Father Bradley, Vice-President and Treasurer, the fine new seminary and the magnificent new church. The greatest event of his term of office was the celebration of the Centenary of the College in Oct., 1908, when His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, His Excellency,

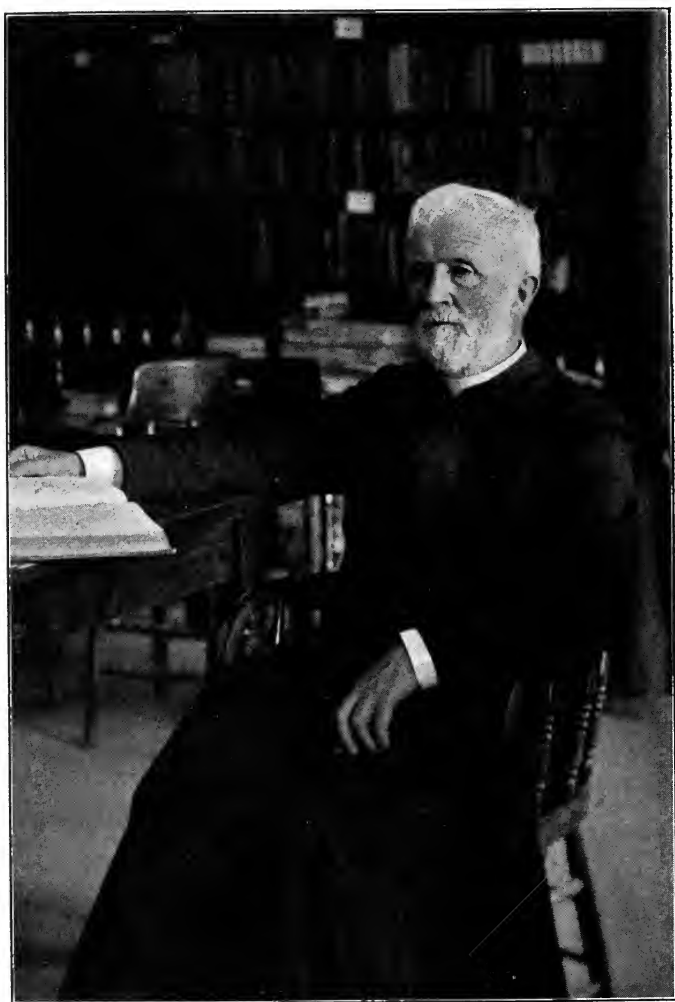
Archbishop Falconio, Apostolic Delegate, many other members of the Hierarchy, as well as priests and students from many states took part in the solemn festivities of the memorable occasion.

In recognition of his great services to religion and education the Holy Father in 1910 made him a Roman Prelate with the title of Monsignor. His strenuous labors, however, both while on the mission and also while at college, had undermined a constitution naturally robust, and after some time spent in search of health he returned to the college and ended there his useful life July 7, 1911. Many Prelates including Cardinal Gibbons attended his burial on the mountain side, where he had asked to be laid, with the great and good men that in the past had directed the destinies of the mountain.

His manliness of character made him loathe whatever was not noble and elevating. While insisting on his rights he did not forget the rights of others, nor his duties to all. His courage, kindness, cheerfulness, industry and many other gifts formed an excellent basis on which grace erected an imposing spiritual building. With solid piety as priest and pastor he worked wonders with such ease and simplicity that what he did seemed ordinary. In intellectual equipment, in sound judgment by which he measured and ruled men, as well as in executive ability he had few equals. When called upon, whatever the occasion demanded, he never failed to come up to, if not to surpass, expectation. As man and priest, as professor and President, he left a splendid record of deeds well done.

JOHN J. TIERNEY.

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THE REV. EDWARD F. X. MCSWEENEY, D. D.

REV. EDWARD F. X. MCSWEENEY, PH.D., S.T.D.

Rev. Edward F. X. McSweeney, Ph.D., S.T.D., was born in Cork, Ireland, September 6, 1843. In infancy he was brought to the United States and as a boy he made his preparatory studies in St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City. He then went to the Propaganda, Rome, where he took with distinction the doctorate in both philosophy and theology, and he was ordained June 15, 1867.

He came of a sacerdotal family, for two of his brothers, not to mention other more distant relatives, adorned the robes of Aaron, and an uncle, having presided over the Irish College, Paris, received from the French Government the Cross of the Legion of Honor, in recognition of eminent services rendered. The young priest's first charge was as assistant at St. Stephen's, New York City, where he remained until 1871. Then he became assistant to Father Briody, at Newburgh, N. Y., and later he was made pastor of St. Mary's, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. There never was a kinder pastor. He taught by precept and led the way by example, and no one was more of a father to his children or more loved by them. In 1883, he entered Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, Md., as a member of the Faculty and, though not a mountaineer, he became one and showed it by the deep interest he took in the welfare of both College and Seminary. He gave himself, so to speak, dedicated himself, to the mountain without reserve. During more than twenty-five years, eighteen of which he was Director of the Seminary, he taught theology, history, canon law, and some classes in the collegiate department. As a teacher he was kind, thorough, and strikingly original in his explanations and illustrations.

His work in the cause of Total Abstinence was felt throughout the land, and by it many were inspired to take an active part in the movement. Strong in his convictions, he remembered the rights of others who differed with him in debatable questions. He set forth his views with charity, that marks the lover of truth rather than of self. As a disciplinarian he was considerate, not weak. Like Agricola, he saw more than he punished, and knew how to combine the *suaviter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*. Unlike the sons of thunder, but rather imitating their Master, he believed that the sunshine and the dew in their silent way do more good than the crashing bolt and the rattling hail. Thus in the end he won by patience and by prayer. He had a keen sense of humor and a clear insight into the book of books—the heart. With a wide range of knowledge gathered by travel and observation he was able to interest and instruct by both tongue and pen; and he used both in the cause of religion and education. His greatest achievement with the pen was the history of the College, in two large volumes, which he wrote with all the affection of a son for his *Alma Mater*. No mountaineer could feel more sympathetically and describe more beautifully the trials and triumphs of the mountain. His last contribution to the press was entitled, “American Saints,” which appeared in the N. Y. Sun, October 15, 1909, and set forth the claims of Mother Seton and Bishop Bruté to the honors of the altar. He died suddenly, October 19, 1909, and we may well hope from his holy life that he joined those servants of God whose virtues he admired, extolled and imitated.

JOHN J. TIERNEY.

BAPTISMAL RECORDS FROM ST. MARY'S CHURCH,
LANCASTER, PA.

January 25, 1787–September 20, 1795

TRANSCRIBED BY WILLIAM P. PRICE

PASTORATES OF FATHERS CAUSSÉ, J. C. HELBRON, ERNTZEN, ELLING, BROSIUS, JANIN, AND MONGRAND. (THE FEW BAPTISMS BY FATHER CERFOUMONT APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN TRANSCRIBED BY OTHER HANDS.)

The small manuscript volume from which the present sequence of registrations is taken, bears on its board cover the following Latin title:

Liber
Baptismalis & Matrimonialis &
Funeralis Ecliae Pastoralis Romano-Catholicae
Lancastriae,
Satrapiae ejusdem Nominis, Provinciae
Pensylvaniae
Americae Sptentralis A. D. 1788 et 89-90-91-92-
93-94-95-96-97-98-99-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804.

With reference to the term *Satrapy*, with its Oriental tinge of bygone despotisms, the alarmists of that Colonial era might easily have planted a great big scarecrow forewarning the young Republic against the ever subtle encroachments and underminings of *Rome*; but fortunately one hears of no particular disturbance over this bit of ominous Latinity in the midst of rising democratic institutions. The *Province* of Pennsylvania was less remote from perti-

nent application; seeing that the Lancaster Mission dated back to 1742, or still in the Colonial period. St. Mary's Church grew up from the original Mission *chapel*, a log structure which subsisted until 1760. Being then "sacrilegiously destroyed", the log chapel was replaced by a substantial stone church, known as "Old St. Mary's", and in active service from 1762 till 1881. Accordingly, for the term of years covered by our citations, it was that old landmark stone church which "cradled" the Catholic population of Lancaster; and if, in the course of time, not a few of those original Catholic families may have strayed from the fold into alien pastures (Father Caussé himself setting a deplorable example of the sort), conversely, the Church has also gained in good proportion to its losses: as witness the flourishing growth of Lancaster's Catholic parishes to-day.

These records are submitted in English for the greater interest of lay readers (barring the meagre minority of laymen who relish Latin archives); and in the process of translation, much that is distinctive in the several recording styles must needs disappear. Be it simply observed, in a summary review of the particular seven "styles" here considered, that the writers reveal the following surface characteristics of script and expression.

Father Caussé shows a rapid, conventional hand, careless of straight lines, and frequently slurred. He generally omits the date of birth; and for *sponsors*, he uses the graphic form *levantibus*, or *levante*, if in the singular.

Father J. C. Helbron writes a correct and regular hand, with ornate capitals; and he is methodical in his details, as a rule; also fairly complete. He, too, uses *levantibus* for sponsors.

Father Erntzen wrote a "flourishing" hand, with heavy shading, and positive elegance. He uses *patrinus* and *ma-*

trina, "godfather and godmother," for sponsors. *Item, susceptores.*

Father Elling used a very fine quill, wrote small and punctiliously, and his manuscript clearly discloses that supersensitive (*empfindliche*) temperament which so incessantly kept him at odds with environments, all or sundry. For sponsors, he uses *patrinus*, *patrina*.

Father Brosius, his pale, watery ink excepted, wrote an open, legible hand, though given to hasty slurs now and then. He uses *patroni* as well as *patrinus* and *matrina*, for sponsors.

Father Janin wrote a somewhat stiff, small and cramped hand, notably sparing of capitals, by the way; save his large *B* for *Baptism* and its variants, verbal or substantive. For sponsors, his terms are *patrinus*, *madrina*; also, *susceptores*.

Father Mongrand's hand is pure *Sorbonne*, of the florid Gothic epoch (structurally, at least, in point of aristocratic distinction and master builder's art). One may not pay the same tribute to his construction of proper names; for in this respect he spells by French phonetics, and it is hard to say which phonetics, French or Teutonic, play the worse havoc with *Irish* names. Father Elling, Teuton, turns a possible form *McConley* or *McConnelly* into the Italian semblance of *Macconalli*; Father Mongrand, in *Sorbonne* guise, presents *McFaul* as *MAIKFOLE*. Another striking trait worth noting in the hand of Father Mongrand, is his often elaborate use of the *parafe*, or signature appendage: rather "flower", in his case, than mere "flourish". For sponsors, he uses *patrinus* and *matrina*.

By rights these records call for a transcriber familiar with local family names at Lancaster and roundabout. The actual transcriber is only very casually and slightly acquainted with Lancaster's local names, though familiar with the Pennsylvania German districts northward and eastward of Lancaster. Hence it is quite probable that

various names have been left in doubt which one at home in the Lancaster *Satrapy* might resolve with confidence and reasonable certainty.

BOOK OF BAPTISMS & MARRIAGES & FUNERALS,

AS RECORDED BY THE PASTORS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AT LANCASTER, COUNTY OF LIKE NAME, PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, NORTHERN AMERICA. A. D. 1788 & 89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804.

Names of those Baptized in January, 1787, for the Year of Our Lord, 1787, by the Reverend Pastor Causy.

Day, 25 January: John, lawful son of Michael Young and his wife Dame Regina Hornbach. Sponsor, John Hornbach.

Item: Margaret, lawful daughter of James Williams and his wife Mary Obrein (O'Brien?). Sponsors, John Löhler and his wife, Dame Barbara.

28 January: Anna Barbara, lawful daughter of Joseph Wagner and his wife Dame Margaret Ridner (Rittner?). Sponsors, Maria Barbara Herdt and Joseph her spouse.

Item: George, lawful son of Joseph Shiff and his wife (name not stated). Sponsors, Joseph Walter and his wife Dame Christina.

29 January: William, son of William Reuhys (.) and Margaret Mil-erdi (Miller?). Sponsor, Eva Deller.

4 March: Nicholas, lawful son of James Mark and his wife Catharine Strubel. Sponsors, Nicholas Hitzelberger and his consort.

5 March: Joseph, lawful son of John Carolus and his wife Dame Elizabeth Grimm. Sponsors, Joseph Wagner and his consort.

6 April: John, lawful son of Dennis Clery and his wife Bridget. Sponsors, Timothy Sullivan (Sullivan?) and Dame Margaret Miller.

7 April: Elizabeth, lawful daughter of () Vollkmar and Dame Madeline Miller. Sponsors, () Walter and Joseph Walter.

[This entry is indistinct; very pale ink, blurred script.]

Item: Mary Catharine, lawful daughter of Thomas Wessner and his wife Dame Elizabeth Baderstein. Sponsor, Margaret Bein (?).

Item: Anna, lawful daughter of John O'Neal and Ann Daggothee (Dougherty?) his wife. Sponsors, Molly Daggothee (Dougherty?) and Michael Frey.

28 April: Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Caspar Remmy and his wife Margaret Bonned (Bonnet?). Sponsors, Catharine Remmy and Peter her spouse. Born on the twenty-first.

7 May: Mary Catharine, lawful daughter of Philip Stockslayer and Dame Magdalena Bauman. Sponsor, Mary Catharine Ridner (Rittner?). Born, April 17.

Item: Catharine, lawful daughter of Michael Ridner (Rittner?) and his wife Mary Catharine Harfner. Sponsors, Anna Maria Hogin and Michael Hoge (Hogan?) her spouse. She was born on April 4.

[Possibly *Hogan* is meant, and written *Hogin* for the German feminine form?]

15 July: Catharine, aged six weeks, and lawful daughter of Joseph Mayer and his wife Dame Elizabeth Miller. Sponsors, Catharine Habert and John Fisher her spouse.

1787, 7 August: Born, and baptized on the 9th, John Philip, lawful son of James Kirchman and his wife Dame Anna Maria Schleger. Sponsors, George Mertz and his wife Dame Anna Maria Geilssglees. (Such appears to be the intended name, from feminine form *Geilssgleesin*.)

Same Year, 18 October: Antony, lawful son of Caspar Trippel and his wife Catharine Antony. Sponsors, Antony Heine and his wife Dame Catharine Algeyer. He was born on October 10.

Same Year: John, lawful son of John Lück and Mary Margaret Agatha(?). Sponsors, John Driskel (Driscoll?) and Eva Löchler. He was born on August 29.

[So nearly as the blurred script seems to stand, the Latin record of the wife's name reads: *Mariae Gretin Agithae*.]

23 October, Same Year: Mary, lawful daughter of Joseph Stump and Mary Ann Reck (possibly Keck?) his wife. Sponsors, John Coose(?) and Laoidote? ?). She was born on the tenth instant.

[Another indistinct record.]

12 November, Same Year: Baptized, and born on the 4th, Sarah, lawful daughter of George Bachmann and his wife Dame Elizabeth Nunner. Sponsors, William Heinsin (Heintz?) and Hannah Lucas.

9 July: Baptized, and born on the 7th, Christina, lawful daughter of John Carolus and Elizabeth Cremm (Grimm.). Sponsors, Christina Walter and Joseph Walter.

10 July: Nicholas, lawful son of John Peter Hitzelberger and his wife Mary. Sponsors, John Wait and Magdalena Gunder (Gunter?). Born on the 7th instant.

Same day: Mary Catharine, lawful daughter of Andrew Haser and his wife Gertrude. Sponsors, Anna Catharine Marx(?) and John Peter Hitzelberger. 26 June. (The feminine form resembles *Markxin*.)

11 July: Baptized (rest of page blank).

Thus far the baptismal records of *R. D. Cause* (Causse).

Names of the Missionaries from Europe who served this Mission from the year 1755 to the year 1804.

The Reverend Missionaries:	The following parallel column was canceled.
Molineux	Mollineux
Farmer	Farmer
Schneider and Weysler	Schneider
Pellentz and Frombach	Pellentz
Geissler	Brosius
Causij. <i>Apostate.</i>	Elling
J. C. Helbron	Hailbron
Fromm	Cause— <i>perditus est</i> (lost)
Elling	De Barth
Erntzen	Egan
Cerfoumont	Rosseler
Stapffort	Stafford
Brosius	Gissler
Janin	Fromm
Mongrand	Mongrand
De Barth	Fitzsimmons
Egan	Cevromont
Fitzsimons	Janin
Fromm (canceled)	Erntzen
Stocker. <i>Apostate.</i>	
Beschler	
Byrne	
Holland	
Shenfelter	

Continuation.

Those regenerated in baptism by me, John Charles Helbron, as immediate successor to Father Cause, A. D. 1789.

- A. D. 1789; Day of Birth, 13 February; Date of Baptism, 25 *ditto*: Antony Nicholas Marx, lawful son of James Marx and Catharine, born Strubel. Sponsors, Nicholas Hitzelberger and his consort Magdalena.
- 4 February; 1 March: Stephen Joseph Iutz, lawful son of Peter Iutz and Elizabeth, born Canto. Sponsor, Stephen Felix.
- 20 January; 1 March: John Simeon Oekenroth, lawful son of Christian Oekenroth and Catharine Schoeringer. Sponsors, Simeon Oekenroth and Christina Schoeringer.
- A. D. 1788, 31 December; 1 March: Anna Maria Bernhard, lawful daughter of Joseph Bernhard and Barbara Meyer. Sponsors. Anna Maria Meyer and Andrew Gross.

- A. D. 1789, 28 February; 4 March: Joseph Martins, lawful son of Balthasar Martins and Eva, born Hurnbach (Hornbach?). Sponsors, Joseph Algeyer and Christina Martins.
- 25 February; 27 *do.*: Barbara Huver, lawful daughter of Michael Huver and Christina, born Sofina. Sponsors, Sophina Huver and Joseph Huver. (*Sofina* seems unusual for a family name, but so it seems to stand in the manuscript record.)
- 12 January; 15 March: Maria Theresa, lawful daughter of Conrad Alwein and Catharine, born Weivel. Sponsors, Eva Jerman and Francis her husband.
- 1788, 4 May; 16 March: Barbara Elizabeth, lawful daughter of William Balthasar Gans and Sarah Miller. Sponsor, Elizabeth Tut. (*Dutt?* A name still current in Pennsylvania German settlements.)
- 10 March: Margaret, lawful daughter of William Braun and Margaret (Braun). Sponsor, Margaret Tut (*Dutt?*).
- 9 February; 19 March: William Clerk, lawful son of Michael Clerk and Elizabeth, born Ingelhard. Sponsors, Thomas Toil and Anna Gallacher (Gallagher?).
- 13 March; 20 *do.*: Francis Joseph, lawful son of Michael Jung (Jung? Young?) and Catharine Sturmbach. Sponsors, Joseph Stormbach and Anna Maria Huber.
- A. D. 1788, 24 June; 29 March (1789): John Hor, son of John Mor and Eva Dog. Sponsor, Philip Dog. (Latin reads: *f. Ill.*)
- 1789, 23 April; 28 *do.*: Lawrence George, lawful son of John Wheat and Magdalena Gunter. Sponsors, Lawrence Gunter and Margaret Wheat.
- 1 May; 2 *do.*: Susanna, lawful daughter of Adam Paul and Catharine, born Knay (?). Sponsors, Susanna Latory and Henry Peihl.
- 14 May; 22 *do.*: Peter James, lawful son of Caspar Remy and Margaret, born Bonnet. Sponsors, Peter Remy and Catharine Remy.
- 18 January; 24 May: John Schneider, lawful son of Antony Schneider and Barbara, born Willmar. Sponsors, John Lintz and Christina Lintz.
- 1788, 26 November; 24 May: Maria Christina Schmid, lawful daughter of John Schmid and Maria, born Leuberd. Sponsors, Christina Leuberd and Simeon Oekenroth.
- 1789, 25 May: Anna Margaret Tutt, lawful daughter of George Tutt and Anna Margaret, born Habercam. Sponsor, Margaret Tutt.
- 8 May; 2 June: Antony, lawful son of Samuel Schroth and Anna Maria, born Marx. Sponsors, Antony Heim and Catharine Heim.
- 8 May; 3 June: Maria Oekin, aged 19 years, heretofore Protestant. Sponsors, Maria Lük and John Lük.
- 23 (January); (June 2): Anna Maria, lawful daughter of Christian Vollkman and Magdalena, born Müller. Date of birth 23 January; baptized June 2. Sponsors, Anna Maria Willmar and Antony Hook.

- 7 June; 5 July: James, lawful son of Joseph Meyer and Elizabeth, born Müller. Sponsors, James Marx and Catharine Marx.
- 31 August; 10(?): John James, lawful son of James William and Mary Obrien (O'Brien?). Sponsor, James Marx.
- 7 August; 9 *do.*: Joseph Antony, lawful son of John Löchler and Barbara Löchler, born Kuhn. Sponsors, Antony Joseph Hook and Margaret Wiltmar.
- 7 May; 10 August: Catharine Baumgartner, lawful daughter of James Baumgartner and Magdalena, born Kraft. Sponsors, John and Catharine Baumgärte (doubtless for *Baumgärtner*, the native German form?).
- 1 January; 16 August: William Feger, lawful son of Barnaby Feger and Elizabeth, born Corker. Sponsors, James Rhoneyr and Anna Rhoneyr.
- 10 September; 5(?): Dominic, lawful son of John Gylespy (Gillespie?) and Eleanor Odanel (O'Donnell?). Sponsor, Timothy Soliven (Sullivan?).
- 23 May; 10 September: Henry O'Nail (O'Neil?), lawful son of John Onail (O'Neil.) and Anna Dogortha (Dougherty?). Sponsor, John Henry Kirchmar.
- 17 August; 14 *do.*: John Philip Gomo, lawful son of Joseph Gomo and Anna Maria, born Dibel. Sponsor, John Arnold, Senior.
- 27 August; 20 September: Eva Stokschlaeger, lawful daughter of Adam Stokschlaeger and Catharine, born Godner. Sponsor, Eva Schweitzer.
- A. D. 1789, 17 September; 3 October: John Anteny, lawful son of John Sheffris (Jeffries?) and Anna, born Wilson. Sponsor, Antony Heim.
- 17 June; 1 October: John Eichelberg, lawful son of Martin Eichelberg and Catharine, born Zinky. Sponsors, James M'Conley and Catharine his consort.

(Thus far the baptismal records of Father J. C. Helbron.)

Names of those baptized by me, *P. Erntzen*, Missionary.

Born on March 10, 1791, and baptized on May 2, 1791: Eva Maerthens, daughter of Balthasar and Eva Maerthens, lawful consorts. Wife's name, Sturmbach. Godfather, Nicholas Sturmbach; godmother, Eva Schweizer.

Born on March 19, 1791, and baptized on May 3, 1791: Theresa Stump, daughter of Joseph Stump and his lawful wife Maria Anna, born Kecking. Godfather, Gaspar Michelfelder; godmother, his wife Barbara.

Born on April 26, 1791, and baptized on May 24, 1791: John Peter Jutts, son of Peter Jutts and his wife Elizabeth. Sponsors were Peter Helsomen and his consort Catharine.

- Born on December 25, 1790, and baptized on May 25, 1791: Anna Maria Bradlé (Bradley?), daughter of William Bradlé and his wife Margaret. Godmother was Maria Mayer.
- Born on May 15, 1791, and baptized on May 29, 1791: Elizabeth Antony, daughter of Philip Antony and his wife Barbara, born Remig. Godfather, Henry Norbeck; godmother, Catharine Norbeck.
- Born on August (), 1787, and baptized on June 17, 1791: John Sannet, son of Oliver Sannet and his wife Margaret, born Ogner. Godfather, Paul Ernzen.
- Born on December 20, 1789, and baptized on June 17, 1791: Maria Sannet, daughter of Oliver Sannet and his wife Margaret. Godmother, Rose Burns.
- Born on March 12, 1791, and baptized on June 17, 1791: Catharine Renard, daughter of James Renard and his wife Mary Ann, born Hetrich. Godmother, Catharine Löchler; godfather, Anthony Ginter.

(Thus far the records of Father Erntzen; the next list is in Elling hand.)

- Baptized, on July 29, 1791, by the Reverend Stanislas Cerfoumont, Net (Ned? Edward?) Muckbeath, son of Patr'ck Muckbeath and his wife Nancy. Godfather, John Price; godmother, Nally (Nelly?) Avril (?) *Ita testor Wilhelmus Elling Parochus Lancasteriae*: so do I witness, William Elling, Parish Priest at Lancaster.
- Baptized, on August 9, 1791, by me, William Elling, parish priest of Lancaster: Henry Hughes, son of William Hughes and his wife Margaret. Godfather, Lewis Boht; godmother, Maria Majer (Mayer?).
- Baptized, on August 12, 1791, by me, William Elling: Francis Joseph Metzger, son of Thomas Metzger and his wife Margaret. Godfather, Francis Joseph Hirt; and Cecilia Hirt, wife of the afore-said, was godmother.
- Baptized, on August 23, 1791, Geni (Jennie?) Graeffi, daughter of Joseph Graeffi and his wife Salli (Sallie). Godfather, Joseph Lang; godmother, Barbara Michelfelder.
- Baptized, on September 2, 1791, John Huc, born on 28 August, 1791, son of Anthony Huc (Hook.) and his wife Anna Maria. Sponsors, Michael and Anna Maria Huc (Hook?).

(Marginal entry 45 appears to indicate the number of baptisms to this point since the *Continuation* by Father J. C. Helbron.)

- Baptized, on September 4 (1791), Peggi (Peggie?), or Margaret Mecran, daughter of Terence Mecran and his wife Elizabeth. Godfather, Barnaby Mecran; godmother, Catharine Zorn. (Possibly *McGran* is meant?)

- Baptized, on (September) 24, John Hook, son of Mathias Hook and his wife (name left blank). Godfather and godmother, John Carolus and Elizabeth Carolus.
- 90 (?) Baptized, on November 22, Elizabeth Willcocks, daughter of Thomas Willcocks and his wife Joanna. Sponsors, Thomas Sletter and Elizabeth Clark.
- O (?) Baptized, on November 23, Anna Rodrick, daughter of Philip Rodrick and his wife Sally. Godmother, Anna Maria Kirkman.
- 91 (?) Baptized, on December 7, Margaret Huber; deceased soon afterward.
- Baptized, on December 8, Martin Creyder. Deceased soon afterward.
- Baptized, on January 4, 1792, Barbara Algeyer, daughter of Joseph Algeyer and his wife Christina. Sponsors, David and Barbara Fitzgerald.
- Baptized, on January 22, 1792, Elizabeth Marx, daughter of James Marx and his wife Catharine. Sponsors, Nicholas Hitzelberger and Madeline Hitzelberg (possibly shortened at end of line, from Hitzelberger?).
- Baptized, on January 29, Joanna Frances Helscher, daughter of Henry Helscher and his wife Molly. Sponsors, Lewis and Joanna Frances Ewald.
- Baptized, on February 5, 1792, Susanna Heuser, daughter of John Heuser and his wife Barbara. Godmother, Susanna Ladur (La-tour?).
- Baptized, on February 26, 1792, Anna Schiff, daughter of Joseph Schiff and his wife Anna. Sponsors, Timothy Souleven (Sullivan.) and Anna M'Cap (McCabe?).
- Baptized, on February 26, 1792, Antony Nordbeck, son of Henry Nortbeck and his wife Catharine. Sponsors, Philip Antoni and Barbara Antoni (Antony, or Anthony?).
- Baptized, on March 5, 1792, George Sturmbach, son of John Sturmbach and his wife Barbara. Sponsors, Antony Günthe (Günter?) and Catharine Löchler.
- Baptized, on May 20, Elizabeth Robertson, daughter of Dominic Robertson and his wife Genevieve. Sponsors, Patrick Ronen and Elizabeth Yeidler (Ronan?).
- Baptized, on June 28, Maria Fitzgerald, daughter of David Fitzgerald and his wife Barbara. Sponsors, Edward M'Kean and Maria Mayer.
- Baptized, on July 1, Samuel Schrot, son of Samuel Schrot and his wife Anna Maria. Godfather, James Marx.
- Baptized, on July 1, Adam, son of Adam Paul and his wife Catharine. Sponsors, Adam and Catharine Lechler.
- Baptized, on July 1, Mary Catharine, daughter of Philip Antoni (Anthony?) and his wife Barbara. Sponsors, Henry and Catharine Nortbeck.

Baptized, on October 2, George John Taub, son of Joseph Taub and his wife Margaret. Sponsors, Joseph Schif and Christina Walter. 3-9 (?)

Baptized, on October 3, John Bernard Graus, son of Leonard Graus and his wife Magdalena. Sponsors, John Graus and Catharine Lechler. 3-9 (?)

Baptized, on October 6, Margaret Triskil, daughter of John Triskil and his wife Mary. Sponsors, John Lick and Anna Rohnen. 5-7½ (?)

Baptized, on October 7, Nancy Mollin, daughter of Stephen Molin (Mullen.) and his wife Rebecca. Sponsors, Bernard O'Donel (O'Donnell?) and Genevieve Pew. 3-9 (?)

Baptized, same date, Nancy Dirny, daughter of Matthew Dirny and his wife Mary. Sponsors, John Laferti (Lafferty?) and Nancy Hanly. 11d (?)

Baptized, same date, Bridget M'Cran, daughter of Hugh and Mary M'Cran. Sponsors, Dennis Doughety (Dougherty?) and Mary M'Donaghan. 3-9 (?)

(Possibly the figures at right of page refer to fees?)

Baptized, on October 8, Joseph, son of John and Catharine Fischer. Sponsors, Joseph Huber and Anna Maria Ladur (Latour?).

Baptized, on November 4, Henry Walter, son of Henry and Elizabeth Walter. Sponsors, Henry Hilscher and Molli (Mollie) Hilscher.

Baptized, on November 4, Elizabeth Renner, daughter of James and Mary Renner. Sponsors, Michael and Elizabeth Berger.

Baptized, on November 4, Maria Barbara, daughter of Henry and Catharine Nortbeck. Sponsors, Philip Anthony and Barbara Anthony.

Baptized, on November 4, Nicholas, son of Balthazar and Eva Martens. Sponsors, Nicholas and Regina Groh.

A. D. 1793, March 9: (Baptized) Patience, daughter of John and Rose M'Haver. Sponsors, James and Catharine Marx.

March 9: James, son of Charles and Mary Galagher. Sponsor, Hugh Callwell (Caldwell.).

March 10: Sally, daughter of Henry and () Pyle. Sponsors, James and Catharine Marx.

March 10: Peter, son of () and () Sturmbach. Sponsors, John and () Lechler.

March 29: Henry, son of Henry and Margaret Macconalli (McConnelly?). Sponsors, Peter Petot and Mary Lick.

March 30: Regina, daughter of Joseph and () Wagoner. Sponsors, Anthony Gunter and Regina Groh.

April 21 (?) (Possibly April 2, as the second stroke seems canceled): Anna, daughter of John and Mary M'Canny. Sponsors, Dorp

M'Onegel (McGonigal?) and Molli (Mollie) Butler. (The form *Dorp* seems unusual for a Christian name, or its vernacular equivalent; but Father Elling's script is fairly distinct, and he would appear to write "*Dorp*".)

July (no further date): Anna, daughter of Samuel and () Hegan (Hagan?). Sponsors, Huges (Hugh?) M'Laglin (McLaughlin?).

July: Michael, son of William and Margaret Bradley. Sponsors, () and () Galagher.

August 4: John, son of John and Mary M'Canni (McCann? McGann?). Sponsors, D (?) O'Donel and Regina Buttler.

(Same date?) Sara, daughter of Oliver and Peggi (Peggie) Senet. Sponsors, Edward Green and Rose M'Green (?).

September 12: John, son of Miles and Rose Relly (Reilly?). Sponsors, Charles Heuser and Esther O'Donel.

Item, Catharine, daughter of Hugh and Mary M'Cran. Sponsors, Thomas Conel (Connell?) and Judith Morisea.

Item, James, son of Patrick and Juliana Ferry. Sponsors, Charles M'Kin (McKean?) and Mary Galacher (Gallagher?).

Item, Mary, daughter of Charles and Margaret Tughen (Dugan?). Sponsors Hini (Henry?) M'Neal and Juni (June?) Galcher (Gallagher?).

Item, Thomas and Mary (twins?) of John and Mathi (Mattie?) Caghlin (Coghlan?). Sponsors, Christian Leon, Hetti (Hettie?) M'Lead (?).

Item, James, son of Patrick and Martha Green. Sponsors, John Davis and Margaret Davis. Edward Dougherty (this name follows the godmother's, as though for an additional sponsor?).

Item (column under September 12, 1793): John, son of James and Rose Candi (?). Sponsors, Berni (Barney? Bernard?) O'Donel and Mary Cafferti (Cafferty?).

Item, Bridget, daughter of (father's name indistinct) and Hetti (Hettie?) Green. Sponsors, Berny (Barney?) Bernard?) O'Neil and Hetti (Hettie?) Boil (Boyle?).

Thus far the script of Father Elling; next entries are in different hand.

A. D. 1794, April 12: Peter Martin, son of Balthasar and Eva Martin. (*Roberson* also appear in the family column, and so for the next following entry; possibly for the mother's family name?). Sponsors, Nicholas Hornbach and Eva Hornbach.

June 2: William, son of () Duncan and Ginny (Jennie? Virginia?) Roberson. Sponsors, David and Barbara Fitzgerald (Fitzgerald?). (*Duncan* is entered under father's name; *Ginny*, under mother's name; *Roberson*, family name, previously entered for father's family.)

Anna Catharine, daughter of Thomas and Mary Heselton (Hazelton?), born on April 20, 1794, and baptized on June 15, 1794. Patrons, Catharine and James Mark.

21 June, 1794: baptized, Catharine, daughter of John Sturmbach.

Joseph Shroder, son of Samuel and Anna Maria Schroder; born on April 2, 1794, and baptized on August 28, 1794. Sponsors, Joseph Hoover and Mary Catharine Mark.

Christian, son of Christian and Magdalena Folckman; born on March 23, and baptized on August 29, 1794. Sponsors, Michael and Elizabeth Berber.

Joseph, son of Joseph and Christina Allguire (Algeyer?); born on October 28, 1793, and baptized on August 28, 1794. Sponsors, John and Barbara Lechler. *Ita Cerfoumont.* (As though recorded by a different hand.)

Antony, son of Lawrence and Magdalena Ginter (born Meyers); born on September 6, 1794, and baptized on September 28, 1794. Sponsors, Antony Ginter and Margaret Wade.—F. X. Brosius.

John, son of Barnaby M'Closqué (McCloskey?) and Genevieve M'Closqué, born Read. Born on May 21, 1794, baptized (Regenerated: *renatus*) on September 29, 1794. Godfather, Hugh Meehan.

Niles, son of John and Anna M'Neal (born White); born on March 9, 1791, baptized on October 8, 1794. Godfather, Antony Huck (Hook?).

Anna, daughter of John and Anna M'Neal (born White); born on January 19, 1894; baptized on October 8, 1794. Godmother, Anna Maria Huck (Hook?).—F. X. Brosius.

James, son of Hugh Colwell (Caldwell?) and Sally, born Harnton; born on September 10, 1794, baptized on October 8, 1794. Godfather, John Harken.

Antony, son of John and Anna Maria Wicman; born on August 17, 1794, baptized on August 20, 1794. Sponsors, James Coafman (Kaufman.) and Margaret Alditmainay (?).

John, son of John and Magdalena Wright (born Ginter); born on September 8, 1794, baptized on October 8, 1794. Sponsors, Henry Meyer and Barbara Ginter.

Catharine, daughter of James and Catharine Smidt (born Gräer); born on September 27, 1794, baptized on October 27, 1794. Sponsors, Peter and Catharine Arnold.

Carola, daughter of Samuel and Helena Moss (born Leuch); born on July 22, 1794, baptized on September 2 of the same year. Sponsors, Philemon Moss and Jane Rush.

(Thus far the record of *Brosius*.)

Catherine Alljuth: baptism on 9 November, 1794; daughter of jhugh (Hugh) Mcfauden (McFadden?).—Janin, Pastor.

Sara Alljut: baptism on 9 November, 1794: daughter of John M'glide (?). (*McGlead* and *McGleade* occur in subsequent records.)—Janin, Pastor.

Eva Margaret, daughter of James Marke and Catharine his spouse, baptized on 17 November, 1794. Godfather, Joseph Ribeau; godmother, Helen Bergue (Berg?).—Janin, Pastor.

On 23 November, 1794, I baptized Gloria (?), daughter of Leonard Krousse and Maria Lechaler (Lechler?) his spouse. Godfather, Henry Lechaler, and godmother, Catharine Krousse (Krauss?).—Janin, Pastor.

On 27 November, 1794, I baptized Andrew Croty, son of Andrew and Mary Croty (born Morse). Godfather, Hugh Colvelle (Caldwell?). Andrew was born in the year 1790, 12 August.—Janin, Pastor.

On 24 November, 1794, I baptized Eleanor, aged seven years, daughter of Andrew and Mary Croty. Godfather, Hugh Colvelle (Caldwell?).—Janin, Pastor.

On 30 November, 1794, I baptized Barbara, daughter of Henry Hilcher and his wife Mary Obteguem (?). Godfather, Henry Norbec; godmother, Catharine Norbec.—Janin, Pastor.

(If *Obteguem* be the right transcription, it suggests nothing nearer than *Obdach*?)

On 30 November, 1794, I baptized *jonny* (*sic*), son born three months ago, to Angelo Mecnil (McNeal?) and his wife Elizabeth (born) Cheffer (Schaeffer?). Godfather, gimes (James?) Galauger (Gallagher?), and godmother, Anna cheffer (Schaeffer?).—Janin, Pastor.

Anna, daughter of John Woillcocks (Willcox?) and his wife Salome (born Walton); born 25 October, 1793, and baptized on 30 November, 1794. Sponsors were Thomas and Prudence Shleighter.—Janin, Pastor.

Baptized, on 8 December, 1794, Elizabeth, daughter of John Keln and his wife Paula Hourlique (?); age of Elizabeth, three months. Godmother, Maria Chanten (?).—Janin, Pastor.

(Thus far the baptismal record of Father Janin.)

1794. On the fourteenth day of the month of December, baptized Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Bothler (Butler) and his wife Elizabeth. Godfather, James Maikfole (McFaul), and godmother, Rosina Collins.—Mongrand, priest. 1795 (introducing next entry).

The foregoing record is accompanied by the autograph signature:

Daniel Butler	Elizabeth Butler
James Mcfaul	Rose Collins.

- A. D. 1795. Baptized, on the eighteenth day of January, Regina, born two days ago, daughter of Michael Young and his wife Regina. Godmother, Anna Maria Stornback (Sturmbach?).—Mongrand, priest.
1795. Baptized, on the first day of the month of February, John Philip, son of Adam Paole (Paul?) and his wife Catharine. Godfather, Philip Stockhelégre. (Autograph signature: Johan Philip Stockschleger.)—Mongrand, priest.
1795. Baptized, on the ninth day of the month of February, Mary, daughter of Andrew Hope and his wife Magdalena (born Kaeteman). Godfather, Matthias Hock (signed *Hoak*); godmother, Maria Hock.—Mongrand, priest.
Signatures: Matthias Hoak Andreas Hop (in German script.)
1795. Baptized, on the twenty-second day of the month of February, James, son of Joseph Waguener (Wagner?) and his wife Margaret (born Ritner). Sponsors, Lewis Hekman (Heckman) and Elizabeth Hekman.—Mongrand, priest.
Signature: Lutwig Heckman.
1795. Baptized, on the second day of the month of March, year 1795, Patrick, aged three months, son of John Bonner and his wife Bridget (born Crossen). (Possibly *McCrosson*?). Godfather, Michael Meckfagen (McFagan?); godmother, Margaret Mckdonel (McDonnell?).—Mongrand, priest.
Signature: John Boner.
1795. Baptized, on the twenty-second day of the month of March, Daniel, aged fifteen days, son of Henry L'Echler (Lechler?) and his wife Catharine. Godfather, Joseph Hirt; godmother, Barbara Lechler.—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the thirteenth day of May, Elizabeth, aged three months, daughter of () Norstrin (?) and his wife Mary (born Fadem). Godfather, Charles Macfredim (?); godmother, Mary Michefreket (?).—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, John, aged three months, son of Michael Scalagar and his wife Frances. Godfather, John Gloelen (possibly Llewellyn?); godmother, Mary Oweb (Webb?).—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the fifteenth day of the month of May, Nicholas, son of Edward Méguénélé (McGinley?) and his wife Elizabeth. Godfather, Mark Duguen (Dugan?); godmother, Catharine Gressé(?).—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the sixteenth day of the month of May, Elizabeth, aged four months, daughter of Joseph André and his wife Mary. Godmother, Elizabeth Joseph.—Mongrand, priest.

Baptized, on the sixteenth day of the month of May, Anna Maria, daughter of known father and Margaret Tardea. Godmother, Anna Maria Leon.—Mongrand, priest.

(The Latin script first ran, *patris incogniti*; but was revised to read, *patris cogniti*.)

Baptized, on the twenty-second day of the month of May, George, aged four months, son of Thomas Resler and his wife Elizabeth. Godfather, George Tout (Dutt?); godmother, Anna Maria Tout.—Mongrand, priest.

Signature: Georg Dutt. (*Georg* in German script; *Dutt* in English.)

Baptized, on the twenty-second day of the month of May, Pauline, aged two months, daughter of John Kergimond (?) and Catherine Kergimond. Godfather, Andrew Hoop (*Hop?* as in signature *supra*, *Andreas Hop*); godmother, Magdalena Hoop.—Mongrand, priest.

Baptized, on June the seventh, Mary, daughter of David Gaerbel (?) and Mary Botler. Godfather, James Guelen (Whalen?); godmother, Mary Botler. (Probably *Butler* is meant).—Mongrand.

Baptized, on the twelfth day of June, Anna, daughter of Simeon jken and his wife Anna jken (?). Godfather, Joseph Hirt; godmother, Cecilia Hirt.—Charles Mongrand, priest.

The form *jken* somewhat baffles plausible conjecture. If *jken* = *iken*, maybe *Egan* is meant?)

Baptized, on the thirteenth day of the month of June, Paul, son of Charles Galagar (Gallagher?) and his wife Mary. Godfather, Paul Odonel (O'Donnell?); godmother, Elizabeth Riveli (?).—Mongrand, priest.

Signatures: Cornelius Harkins

Charles Galleher

Baptized, on the fifth day of the month of July, Elizabeth, daughter of James Penn and his wife Elizabeth. Godmother, Elizabeth ilkerai (?).—Mongrand.

Baptized, on the twenty-fourth day of the month of July, Anna Barbara, daughter of Barnaby Coms (?) and his wife Elizabeth. Godfather, John Arnesai (?); godmother, Bridget. (Her surname not specified).—Mongrand, priest.

Baptized, on the ninth day of the month of August, John, aged one month, son of John Stoksletre (Stocksleger) and his wife Barbara. Godfather, Peter Stokslêtre; godmother, Catharine Lekler Lechler?—Mongrand, priest.

Signature: Peter Stocksleger (German script).

- Baptized, on the twenty-second day of the month of August, Francis Joseph, son of Philip Stoksletre (Stocksleger?) and his wife Magdalena. Godfather, Francis Joseph Hirt.—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the thirtieth day of the month of August, Susanna, daughter of Henry Norbeth (Norbeck?) and his wife Catharine. Godfather, Anthony; godmother, Susanna Antony.—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the fourteenth day of the month of September, Paulina, daughter of John Mongrand and his wife Mary. Godfather, Timothy Mallay (?); godmother, Christiana Remy.—Mongrand.
- Baptized, on the twentieth day of the month of September, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Briday (Brady?) and his wife Ellen. Godfather, John Conoë (Conway?); godmother, Mary Goire (McGuire?).—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the twentieth day of the month of September, Catharine, daughter of Gaspard Remy and his wife Margaret. Godfather, Philip Antoni (Antony?); godmother, Barbara Antoni.—Mongrand, priest.
- Baptized, on the twentieth day of the month of September, Julius Adolphus, aged two months, lawful son of Master Philip Peticolas and his wife, Madam Amelia Moneuse. Godfather, Master Michael Burger (Berger?); godmother, Madam Elizabeth Burger (Berger?).—Mongrand, priest.

Signatures:

P A Peticolas

Michael Berger

Lisabeth Bergern (German script).

(Thus far the baptismal records of Father Mongrand.)

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER VI

AMENDING THE CHARTER OF ST. MARY'S. ADVERSE DECISION OF SUPREME COURT. EFFORTS PERSIST FOR AMENDMENT. ELECTION OF HOGANITE TRUSTEES. THEIR PROTEST AGAINST CLERGY ON THE BOARD. BISHOP CONWELL TO ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL. TITLE TO THE CHURCH PROPERTY.

About this time the Hoganites were pushing for the proposed amendment to St. Mary's charter. But the like motion had originated before either Hogan or Bishop Conwell came to Philadelphia. There was talk of it as far back as 1805; and, as related in our first chapter, active preparations to forward the matter were in order at a meeting of the Trustees on February 21, 1820. A committee was appointed at this meeting to draft amendments of the kind desired. The same committee duly reported, and on March 1 it was directed to procure the requisite legislative sanction. Here the matter paused for about a year, possibly because the legislature was not in session, possibly because a majority of the Trustees disfavored Hogan and feared the consequences of thus amending the charter, now that it appeared whither he and his backers were drifting. Whilst the nature of the contemplated amendments is not shown by the minutes, one construes its bent from the constant

opposition of the clergy, and from the fact that Father McGirr declined to serve as chairman of the meeting on March 1. In short, the amendments would have aimed to reduce the clergy's power on the Board of Trustees. At all events, Hogan's followers now resumed the project in the hope of advancing their cause, despite the Trustees. On March 20, 1821, the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed an Act authorizing St. Mary's corporation to alter and amend its charter, subject to the approval of the Court; and on March 21 there appeared the subjoined handbill:

To the Members of St. Mary's Congregation.

The Committee appointed by the Congregation of St. Mary's Church to obtain from the Legislature an Act to authorize the amendment of our Charter of Incorporation request a Meeting of the Congregation at the Washington Hall, on Saturday Evening next (7th April) to report their proceedings. Where it is hoped every Member will be prepared to decide upon those alterations that may be expedient.

JOHN DOYLE,
MICHAEL DORAN,
AUGUSTINE FAGAN.
Committee.

March 31st 1821.

A manuscript in Bishop Conwell's handwriting gives an account of the attendance on that occasion:

"Persons who appeared at Washington Hall on Ap. . . . last to vote away the rights and privileges of the congregation of St. Mary's Church.

Rob. Stafford, M. D., cor. Front and Pine.

— . Dempsey late of N. Castle, 4th near Lombard.

U. P. Levi Esq., Naval Officer.

J. J. Lalor in Spruce St., bet. 4 and 5.

Nich's Stafford, Publican, Water St. at Drawbridge.

Jos. Blame, Bottler, N. 5th St.
 Jos. M. Doran, Sec. of meeting.
 Jas. Desmond, son of T. Desmond.
 Dan'l Desmond, son of T. Desmond.
 Tim Desmond.
 Mich Doran.
 Anth. Grows (Groves ?).
 Patrick Mealey, Rec. (?) to Mich Williamson.
 Chas. W. Brazley.
 Morgan Carr.
 Augustine Fagan.
 John T. Sullivan.
 Wm. Hand, Grocer, No. 11 Swanson St.
 Patt. Cassidy, }
 Dan'l Russell, } Draymen, cor. Spruce and Water.
 Patt. McGuire, }
 James Flinn, } at Bazil Grones, Soap Manf.
 Law. Whelan, }
 Felix McGuigan.
 John Hardy, }
 Patt. Hardy, } Carters at the Drawbridge.
 Chas. Smith, in 3rd St. near Lombard.
 Chas. Taws, in Union near 3rd St.

This cannot, of course, be a complete list of those present; but it probably contains names known to the Bishop, or prominent in the proceedings.

The meeting decided to have the charter amended with reference to debarring the clergy from acting as Trustees; whereas all the eleven Trustees should be laymen who were citizens and pewholders; *item*, an election for Trustees should be held on the first Monday of January 1822, until which date Messrs. John Leamy, John Ashley, Lewis Clapier, Richard W. Meade, Joseph Dugan, Timothy Desmond, John Doyle, John Dempsey, Patrick Connell, Augustine and Joseph Fagan should serve as Trustees.

The Act of the Legislature, March 20, gave to St. Mary's Corporation the same privileges given to other corporations by an act passed on April 10, 1791. They were allowed to frame amendments that should be sent to the Attorney General, and endorsed with his opinion to the Supreme Court; whose approval once obtained, the amendments might be incorporated in the original charter. Presumably, these steps were observed by the aforesaid Committee of St. Mary's; but on April 17, the Supreme Court passed adversely to the proposed amendments. The Trustees, it would appear, had protested against the designed amendments as "illegal and unconstitutional." Other members of the Congregation had likewise demurred. The Court opinion was delivered by Chief Justice Tilghman, Justices Gibson and Duncan assenting, to the effect that the Trustees were "the corporation" according to the wording of the original charter, and that only "the corporation" could make application for amendments under the act of 1791. When asked for a *mandamus* to compel the Trustees to support the amendments, the Court refused on the next day, April 18. In these transactions Joseph R. Ingersoll represented the Committee; Messrs. Kittera and Keating, the protesting Trustees. The Court decision was printed in full by the *National Gazette*, April 21, 1821; but since none of the contents concerned either Hogan or Bishop Conwell, we shall cite only those passages which touch the core of the issue between Trustees and Congregation. Moreover, the Court answer so thoroughly agrees with common sense that one fails to discern how a clear vision could have expected any different ruling.

First, the pushers for amendment were basing their argument on the Act of April 10, 1791, which was entitled "an act to confer on certain associations of the citizens of this commonwealth the powers and immunities of

corporations or bodies politic in law." But the Trustees of St. Mary's Church had already been incorporated "by the name, style, and title" of "the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society worshipping at the church of St. Mary's, in the city of Philadelphia." Before incorporation, the law might listen to individual applicants; but once incorporated, the corporate body could be heard only as such. And in fact the corporate body of St. Mary's, the Trustees, had not applied for charter amendments. "Although the individuals who apply for a charter are said to be incorporated, yet after incorporation they are not known as *individuals*; they have no legal existence but as a corporate body; how that corporate body shall be organized is expressed in the instrument of incorporation. In this of St. Mary's it consists of the pastors of the Church (not exceeding three), and eight lay members, elected annually, on the Tuesday of Easter week, by the members of the church holding a pew, or part of a pew, and paying for the same not less than fifteen shillings a year. In those trustees are vested all the property and all the powers and privileges of the corporation; or, to speak more properly, they, and they only, are the *corporation*. Their existence is perpetuated by annual elections, so that the corporation is undying and unchangeable, while the individuals who transact its business are subject to death and change. The security of the congregation against misbehaviour of their trustees, lies in their power of removing them at the annual election, besides the punishment which may be inflicted by law. It is not to be feared, therefore, that the desire of the congregation to alter their charter should be frustrated by their trustees for any great length of time. If we regard the *words* of the Act of Assembly, the application for an alteration is to come from the corporation. And if we consider the *convenience* of the thing, we shall find

strong reasons for not departing from the words. Where the application is from the corporation, the court is under no uncertainty. The whole body speaks with one voice. But if individuals come forward and ask for an alteration, how is this Court to know whether it be really the desire of the congregation? Will a large majority be sufficient? The Act of Assembly is silent. . . . Are the applicants really members of the society? Are we to inquire into all these things? And in case of contested facts, are we to decide, or must they be tried by a jury? . . . The Act of Assembly contemplates no difficulties of this kind; no questions of fact are supposed. . . . We have been pressed to consider the alterations in this charter, by intimations of alarming emergencies, if the congregation of St. Mary's proceed to an election of trustees, in the present ferment of their minds. This Court has no right to yield to apprehensions of that kind. It must administer justice impartially, without regard to consequences. But in truth I cannot bring myself to believe there is danger of any serious disturbance. I cannot believe that the religious congregation of St. Mary's will be so forgetful of their duty to God and their country as to make the election ground a scene of riot and bloodshed. . . . It appears from the minutes of the corporation that the subject of amendments has been many years under consideration, and committees have been appointed from time to time to attend to it. But it is certain that the corporation is no party to the present application; so far from it, a formal *protest* has very lately been entered on their minutes. I forbear from saying anything concerning the nature of the amendments, or the manner in which they were obtained, because we have only heard the evidence on one side. . . . As the case stands before us, I take it that the application for the alteration of the charter is not

only without the consent of the corporation, but absolutely against it, and under such circumstances I think the judges ought not to certify their opinion touching the lawfulness of the proposed alteration."

With similar consistency, the Court rejected the *mandamus* petition, whereby the corporation of St. Mary's should be commanded "to affix their common seal to the proposed alterations to the charter." In sum, the Supreme Court of the State would not bend the law to the will of partisan factions.

However, the Hogan supporters were not to be balked of their main purpose. Hitherto they had sought to control the Board of Trustees by means of amending the charter; whereas now, obviously, the sole mode of procedure would be to amend the charter by controlling the Trustees. Hence they lost no time in preparing for the coming election. A notice appeared in the *Advertiser* of April 20:

St. Mary's Congregation:

The members of St. Mary's Congregation in favor of amending the present Charter of Incorporation, are requested to attend a meeting, to be held at the Washington Hall, on Saturday evening next (the 21st inst.) at 7 o'clock, on business relative to the ensuing election for Trustees.

JOHN DOYLE,
MICHAEL DORAN,
AUGUSTINE FAGAN.
Committee.

April 20.

On the day of the election, April 24, we read in Poulson's *Advertiser*:

Communication.

Charter of St. Mary's Congregation.

The defects of the present act of incorporation, were sensibly felt so far back as the year 1805; and measures were then taken for its improvement, as well as by almost every subsequent set of managers; men who entertain the most opposite opinions upon the present feuds that exist in the Church of St. Mary's. That the exertions of the gentlemen deputed to carry the desires of the congregation, in this respect, into effect, by the resolution of the general meeting of March 1820, could not have been drawn forth by any view to the present difference between Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell and the Rev. Mr. Hogan, must be apparent by the simple fact, that this duty was imposed upon them before either of these gentlemen were known to the Trustees or people of St. Mary's Church, and that it is not in consequence of any remissness on their part, that the improvements were not carried into effect long before this unhappy difference took place.

JUSTICE.

The ground for amendment was thus indicated in a pamphlet:

The original charter of 1788 was indistinct; its objects loosely, if at all expressed: otherwise it would never have been necessary to enlist the learning and ingenuity of a whole bar, in order to approach its meaning.

But not all the members of St. Mary's acquiesced in the Hoganite plans. The Baltimore Archives (case 15) contain a letter to Archbishop Maréchal, dated April 21, 1821, and signed by Chas. Johnson, John Carrell, Cornelius Tiers, Philip Smith, Hugh Cavanaugh, P. M. Durney, and Thomas Maitland. These gentlemen announce themselves as a Committee of Pewholders of St. Mary's appointed to prevent such outrages as had been committed at St. Mary's. They state their case as follows:

The letter sent by Leamy's Committee on the 25th of March contained misrepresentations and unfounded assertions; it was not the unanimous voice of the congregation; the majority of the pewholders are opposed to their proceedings; there is a majority against any further prosecution of measures relative to Mr. Hogan. Their meetings were conducted chiefly by persons devoid of true religion, and composed of men and women whose characters have been truly exemplified by their conduct, and strangers to every denomination, whom curiosity excited to witness the novel spectacle of inexperienced young men expounding the canons and discipline of the Catholic Church.

The assertion of these gentlemen (upholders of the Bishop), that the majority of the pewholders were opposed to Hogan, somewhat puzzles us why there should have been so little concerted resistance to the election of his most ardent supporters; indeed, the inference is not obscure, that the Bishop's party believed the election to have been conducted unfairly. On this point the records offer only negative evidence, yet enough to leave room for surmisals of unfairness.

While preparing for the election the Hoganites kept pushing to strengthen their position by legislative action. The Legislature being in session at Lancaster, an Act was again passed, on April 20, empowering the corporation to make amendments. But the Bishop's party sent a memorial against the proposed legislation as violating the original contract; and ere long the factious Trustees and their adherents were taught anew that their method of procedure was unlawful in the judgment of the Supreme Court of the State.

The election for Trustees was held, as directed by the charter of 1788, on Tuesday of Easter week, April 24, 1821. Fortunately, so far as the records inform us, the Chief Justice had rightly confided in the congregation's

elementary regard for decency at a Church election, and there is no report of "riot and bloodshed." Concerted opposition of whatever sort seems to have been wanting; and the "enemies of the Church," as the Bishop termed them, prevailed without ostensible hindrance. John Leamy, John Ashley, Patrick Connell, Joseph Strahan, John Dempsey, Joseph Dugan, Augustine Fagan, and John Doyle, all supporters of Hogan, were declared elected. These constituted the first full board of Hoganite trustees. The judges of election were Charles W. Bazeley, Michael Doran, Nicholas Stafford, and Felix McGuigan; the clerks, Archibald Randall and James T. Desmond. These reported 453 votes cast for the said trustees. If then a majority of the qualified voters dis-favored Hogan, as the opposition contended, there would have been a very large seating capacity in St. Mary's Church for those early times. For that matter, mere majority figures tell but little on the side of intrinsic morality in an issue steaming with partisan passions. We have no report of the minority vote at all; so that we may dismiss the election at this point.

After thus gaining control of the board, with eight Hoganite lay members against the three "pastors of St. Mary's," the new trustees lost no time in improving their advantage. A board meeting was held on the day after the election. Bishop Conwell and Fathers Cummiskey and Hayden took their places as members of the board on the ground that they were pastors of the church, and as such entitled to seats. Whereupon the lay trustees adopted a protest against the presence and participation of the Bishop and Father Hayden. A manuscript of the Bishop's reports the incident as follows:

Substance of Protest (Back title :) Ag. Bishop's tak'g his seat in the Bd. of Trustees.

1. Because he is not a pastor of the said church.
2. Because his name was not declared openly in the presence of the electors at the time of conducting the election held on the 24th day of April instant as a Pastor of the Church and a Trustee.
3. Because he has not been duly appointed a member of the Board.

The Trustees do not intend to oppose the continuance of the said Rev. Gentleman at the meeting. But they cannot consent to recognize him in an official situation or consider him entitled to exercise any of the functions or privileges of a member.

J. L., J. D., J. A., Jph. D., J. D., A. F., J. S.
April 25th, 1821.

On the minutes of the Board the third reason is given: Because he is not a citizen; and a fourth reason takes the place of the third, as reported by the Bishop. Against Father Hayden they asserted: "We refuse to recognize him in any official character," alleging their first, second and fourth reasons as ground of refusal.

Having practically expelled their opposers, they called another meeting for the morrow. At this Father Cumiskey alone of the clerical Trustees was present. Dennis McCready, the former treasurer, was summoned to deliver up the seal of the corporation, but replied that he would take legal advice before so doing. Whether he declined, for the nonce, on the ground of the exclusion of the clerical Trustees, or on a question of the validity of the lay members' election, does not appear. But he must have determined to question the validity of the powers of the Board as then constituted. When the meeting ordered a new seal to be procured, Father Cumiskey left the chair, doubtless in protest, and John Ashley was called to preside. They then proceeded to resolve that the new seal should be affixed to the Memo-

rial to the Supreme Court, praying for amendments to the charter. The Hoganite trustees were now in possession, and they regarded themselves as *the Corporation*.

Some further light on events that preceded the election is reflected from the letters of Bishop Conwell to Archbishop Maréchal. On April 2 Bishop Conwell wrote that Hogan had published a new pamphlet "this A. M."; and that he hoped the fear of excommunication would deter this unhappy man and perhaps deter some of his adherents. "I published a comminative notice some time ago, signifying, should he persevere in performing priestly functions, I would excommunicate. I did not entertain the least idea that he would be so daring as to continue in open rebellion against his God and Church. I am convinced he intends, after Easter Sunday, electing Trustees by present charter. Hogan expects it to be altered before that so as to exclude the clergy. Except for losing St. Mary's, the loss of Hogan's adherents is an acquisition: men never known to approach the sacraments; despicable ex-Catholics. All the libertines and bad people of both sexes are for him and ready to fight his battles. Meetings on this subject are held every night. Sunday is a day of great confusion and alarm; yesterday they came to blows. They say I am a Frenchman and a Jesuit; this excites emotions of pride within me. That the Bishops approve my conduct is a great consolation." He also asks the Archbishop to mention, when writing to Rome, "your approbation, as they (at Rome) might conceive it was rashness or want of prudence to act so hastily after my arrival. But you know that the affair was then ripe, and that further delay would bring their projects to perfection, before I could find another motive for justification with the public for suspending him, which I did *ex informata conscientia*, without assigning a motive to

leave room for an appeal. Hogan married a couple, but I cannot learn if it was after the notification."

On April 8 he wrote that there was a great meeting held on the 7th at Washington Hall "by our enemies, to procure approval of the congregation to the new charter. The meeting was tumultuous, the Mayor obliged to come, so also the meeting at St. Augustine's Church last week. These times appear like Luther's in Germany or John Knox's in Scotland. Luther and Knox were combined in Hogan, who wants nothing but the talents to be as bad if not worse than either. Let me suffer as I may, it is in a good cause. If begun again I would do the same thing, let the consequences be what they may. I know excommunication will not restrain Hogan, but will prevent numbers following him and from imbibing his doctrines and principles, so it is expedient. . . . I was informed yesterday that Rev. Francis Neale has title to the ground of St. Mary's, devised from Father Molyneux, who received it from Father Harding. If true I have nothing to fear. I wrote to Neale to-day requesting news on this head. I am anxious and uneasy. Signor Sartori from Trenton was here to-day requiring a dispensation for a German Baron to be married to his former wife's niece. I could not gratify him, but I presume to write to you for it, hoping if you had the faculty for any case or any number of cases of that degree you would extend it to him, but I feared you had not. The Baron anxiously expects an answer." (The Baron was Louis, Baron de Lederer.)

On April 12 he writes again that the day of trial was fast approaching, the election would take place on Easter Sunday and he feared that the enemies of the Church would prevail. He had postponed the excommunication lest they should lose votes by it. The Hoganites had sent an appeal to Rome, which was sealed by the French

and Spanish Consuls, though they gave no sanction to it, but "no official notice was given me." He asks: "Did you ever give an account of the disturbance to the Cardinal Prefect? It would be useful to us. There is danger of Rome being imposed upon, as was the case in the Charleston business. The Bishop of Charleston and others were anxious for a synod. . . . If Hogan does not officiate, would an excommunication be proper to detach his adherents, without monitions? I am at a loss for ground for the monitions, unless to signify to him that unless he retracts his abuse of certain high characters before a certain period he should be excommunicated immediately. Mr. Dwen is here expecting to be ordained about beginning of May. P. S. I have written to Rev. Francis Neale about the title to St. Mary's, received no answer."

Since the Hogan faction had obtained full control of the Board of Trustees by the election, and thereby of St. Mary's Church, the question of the possessor of the legal title became of great importance. It seems remarkable that there should be necessity, at that time, to inquire concerning who held the title, but such must have been the predicament. Bishop Conwell probably derived his information from the following letter of Father Rolof, Pastor of Holy Trinity Church, Sixth and Spruce Streets :

Rt. Rev. Sir :

I received a letter from the Rev'd Mr. Rantzau, a Jesuit, who informs me that the title of St. Mary's Church is yet in the hands of the Jesuits, which would be surrendered on writing to the Rev'd Francis Neal, the heir of the Rev'd Robert Molyneux, mentioned in the charter of the Congregation as the Pastor of it at that time. To take possession of the church it would be necessary, he tells me, to do it in the presence of a peace Officer, by whom they are to be bound to keep

peace under a sum of 50,000\$ until a Juridical Decision can be obtained. This was the advice of the ablest lawyers at Washington given to the Bp. of Norfolk.

Your Lordship's most humble and Obt. servt.,

FRANCIS ROLOF.

RT. REV. DR. CONWELL, Phila.

(Document in A. C. H. Society, endorsed "Rolof to Bp., April 6th, 1821.")

The Bishop's anxiously awaited intelligence from Father Neale arrived at last.

ST. THOMAS MANOR, 1 May, 1821.

Rt. Rev. Sir :

On my return from the country Mission yesterday, I rec'd your letter of the 26th ult. I am sorry that your subjects continue obstinate. Your Lordship's demand to make over real property in fee simple to your person and heirs forever would (according to the laws of Maryland) render the same land escheatable, which would never answer your Lordship's intention. Before I send you such an instrument, I think you would do better to see the words, expressions, titles of the said Daniel Swan and others to the private lay Catholics, date of said instrument, time of recording, fee, which rendered the recording of the deed to Mr. Rob't Harding nugatory. Your Lordship knows that without being naturalized, real property cannot be possessed by you in the State of Maryland. It may be the same in Pennsylvania. If the deed to Mr. Harding gives me a right, I am secure that neither Mr. Robert Harding nor Mr. Robert Molyneux ever gave any title to any person or body politick except by will, and I am their only heir.

Yr. very respectful and Ob't Servt.,

FRANCIS NEALE.

Rev'd Mr. Beeston had no right. . . .

RT. REV'D DOCT'R HENRY CONWELL,

Bishop of Philadelphia,

Pennsla.

(This letter is also to be found with the A. C. H. Society.)

However, not until 1825, or long after Hogan had left the diocese, did Bishop Conwell obtain clear title to the property of St. Mary's. Accordingly, during the dispute, both parties were contending for the possession of a church to which neither held legal title. (This by no means dethrones a canonical Bishop from rightful interest in the Church appurtenances of his diocese.)

Now that Hogan's partisans were in full control at St. Mary's, and that violence had already marked the collision of the two parties on that site, the Bishop withdrew to the older church of St. Joseph's, adjoining his residence; where the remnant of those faithful to his authority gathered about him. Thus began the existence of St. Joseph's as a separate parish. Such it still continues, representing fidelity to authority on the very foundations of the Church in the sometime British American possessions. Bishop Conwell caused the little chapel, as it was called, to be enlarged to meet the requirements of the congregation. The inscription on its walls, "Enlarged 1821," therefore still points to the date of its organization into a separate parish, when the sheep were parted from the goats in yonder Hoganite strife.

[To be continued.]

PETITION OF THE REV. STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN
TO THE KENTUCKY ASSEMBLY, 1800-1.

POTTINGER'S CREEK, 28TH 9^{BER} 1800

[Extract from letters to Bishop Carroll.]

Most Reverend Lord,

These reports having their birth in the vicinity of Francfort may possibly obstruct the success of a petition made to the Assembly according to the directions of your lordship. I drew both the petition & the bill after a Pennsylvania exemplar, the petition was thought reasonable in the committee appointed for such business & Gentlemen of my acquaintance in the Assembly expect an agreeable issue, but the Catholics here are generally so parsimonious and suspicious and ignorant that it was no easy task for me to persuade them that the petition had no meaning injurious to their purses.

* * * * *

I have the honor to be very respectfully,

Most Reverend Lord & Father in God

Your most hble obed^t Servt,

ST. TH. BADIN.

8TH JAN. 1801 POTTINGER'S CREEK.

[From a letter of three pages this extract is made.]

The Assembly of Kky rejected our petition at the last reading of the bill (which had been engrossed already). By the influence of the Speaker, the house being resolved in a committee of the whole: John Breckenbridge, the said

Speaker, & our future Senator in Congress said that the Assembly should show neither preference to any denomination, nor concern for Religious affairs. The Sophistry of this Jacobin philosopher might have been easily confuted. It will be perhaps proper to make a new trial, the next session, & I will thank you for a copy of the act passed in Maryland, as you promised me some time ago.

I have the Honor to be very respectfully, Most Reverend Lord

Y^r most hble obed^t Serv^t

ST. TH. BADIN.

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

Historische Vierteljahrschrift (issued by Dr. Gerhard Seelinger, Leipzig) has an article in past October number that should immediately appeal to all persons who lived contemporary with the French Second Empire and the rising star of Prussia: "Die politische Lage beim Ausbruch des deutsch-dänischen Krieges, von Dr. Friedrich Frahm in Kiel." To begin with, Dr. Frahm's deductions materially revise a sometime floating notion to the effect that the *rear* outlines of the policy of Napoleon III were in the direction of unifying Italy and paralyzing a similar cohesion in Germany. The writer makes it clear that Napoleon III had no final objection against a solidified Germany; he would even have gone great lengths to accommodate Prussian ascendancy beyond the Rhine, and cared little about cohesion or incohesion over there, provided only he could gain a strip of Rhine frontier to hem the Western bounds of France. He played all the fine art of diplomacy (as then it flourished) in order to induce Bismarck to coincide with this ulterior French aim; Bismarck, of course, had no thought of complying, but he, too, played the diplomat with consummate adroitness in the way of keeping Napoleon's dream tranquil until Prussia had compassed her particular goal of absorbing Schleswig-Holstein into the German overlordship. Dr. Frahm gives a candid definition of that older game of diplomacy: "The problem of diplomacy is to lure and beguile the adversary away from the true ends at stake; and in statecraft, *adversary* means whoever pursues independent, that is, deviating, political aims." Consequently, to interpret history from diplomatic archives alone,

were a very uncertain and elusive pastime. "Honesty and candor count only therein while they happen to serve state interests." Bismarck, again, was equally clever in foiling English practical support of the Danish Crown; England would have been glad to befriend "the Dane", but was continually deterred by the dread of French triumphs through those fanned hopes held out by Bismarck to Napoleon. In some remote way, the Prussian success on the side of Schleswig-Holstein was supposed to advance French interests, too: indeed, the picture of Bismarck's game with Napoleon II in those times, reminds one a little of a master marksman bidding his rival "stand still there till I shoot. Maybe some larks will fall into your hamper." Dr. Frahm cites *Friedjung* in a context of Bismarck's *guiding principles*; but the maxim which appears to be given as though of Bismarck's direct utterance, is none other than the classic metaphor of Descartes, about the traveler benighted in a strange forest. Namely: "The statesman is like a wanderer in the woods, who knows the lay of his morass, but not the point where he can get out of the woods. Even so must the statesman stick to the passable ways if he would not get bewildered." (In Descartes, the plan is to follow some one unequivocal path in the certainty that somewhere the woods end, affording actual exit.) Howbeit, *Friedjung's* volume is not before us, and possibly Cartesius receives due credit for his famous figure; unless, for that matter, it has become world's property, no longer needing formal ascription to the original author. Bismarck was manifestly a sage statesman as touching his doctrine of certain permanently inherent forces in the European powers that could never be voided by external manipulations and combinations; his grand want of wisdom came to light when he would have revised the proverb, "all ways lead to Rome", so as to run: "Germany's way defies the Eternal City".

Is any one curious to examine why and how the former small cloud of a Mark Brandenburg swelled into the magnitude of great ocean tides, controlling much commerce and invincible armies in the world's evolution? That model of a specialized, yet fullbodied and sanguine review, *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, will post him pertinently.

We quote her topics in Volume XXVI, 2 (1913).

1. Der Ursprung der brandenburgischen Kur. (Dr. Marius Kremmer.)

2. Studien zur älteren Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg. I: Markgraf Konrad II von Brandenburg. II: Sandau (boundary affairs between Brandenburg and Magdeburg. Dr. Hermann Krabbo.).

3. Ratstube und Kanzlei in Brandenburg im sechzehnten Jahrhunderte. (Dr. Melle Klinkenborg.)

4. Das preussische Offizierkorps unter dem ersten Könige von Preussen. (Generalmajor z. D. Robert Freiherr von Schrötter.)

5. Friedrich bei Kolin. (Dr. Otto Herrmann.)

6. König Friedrich Wilhelm III, Hardenberg und die preussische Verfassungsfrage. (Dr. Paul Haake.)

Kleine Mittheilungen (Little Communications) and *Neue Erscheinungen* fill the ample residue; and in the latter department there is also a fair proportion of critiques which deal with Brandenburg and Prussia. Among the critiques we noted the title: "Die Ortsnamenänderungen in Westpreussen gegenüber dem Namengestande der polnischen Zeit." (Max Bär und Walther Stephan.) This topographical work suggests the recently revived renown of Dr. P. W. Joyce's "Origin and History of Irish Names of Places"; in fact, the German reviewer indicates a systematic research afoot in the domain of place-names of Eastern and Western Prussia, whilst we further gathered that there is a similar study, well cultivated by French antiquarians, of place

names in France. (A French title of the sort will be adduced beyond.) Such research in West Prussia has a peculiar interest on account of the *stratified* names in that bit of checkerboard, so to speak, on the map of Europe. First there was an original Slavonic stratum; then came the Teutonic Knights, who laid a German stratum; anon Poland came to her own again, but was once more subordinated to Germanic dominion.

For the special occasion concerned, attention is owing to the souvenir *Catalogue* noted among these Brandenburg and Prussian book reviews: *Katalog der "Ausstellung Friedrich der grosse in der Kunst"*, including 110 plates; of which 75 represent older art, 35 the modern. And the special occasion, of course, was the Berlin Academy's observance of the two-hundredth birthday of Frederick the Great (1712-1912). In the same category (Prussia's military career), one might add the title: "Preussens Heer von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. I. Bd.: Die alte Armee (bis zum Frieden von Tilsit). II. Bd.: Die neue Armee (bis 1859-60). (Ottomar Freiherr von der Osten-Sacken und von Rhein.)" This work is described as better adapted for the use of officers and educated laymen than for historical specialists, although useful to these to the extent of a handy survey. It is based rather on published material than on latent archives; except that private memoirs were consulted for the very important period from 1815 to 1859-60.

How serenely the *risen* star of Prussia can shine down on its doom's eclipse of the time under Napoleon I! Here come Napoleonic scholars *Friedrich und Gertrude Kirch-eisen* with a *Napoleonkalender und Gedenkbuch der Befreiungskriege auf das Jahr 1812, desgleichen auf das Jahr 1813* (Munich and Leipzig, 1912, 1913). "A souvenir book of great events, great deeds and great words, is this Calendar to be; a souvenir of yonder era when Germany's conscious life began to awake, yet also a memorial of the

man who despite all his faults was so commanding a genius that even his enemies must stand admiring in his presence. . . . In this memorial volume, *all* voices have found utterance: the German, the French, the Russian." Hence it is more or less nominally a *Napoleon* Calendar; his name serving as arch of triumph whereunder parade the vanquished but soulful chief actors German and Muscovite.

The *biography* of Napoleon by Friedrich M. Kircheisen, as reviewed in the same *Brandenburg Forschungen*, promises to contribute a significant accession to Napoleonic literature. (The work appears to be still in process.) The author's initial motto is, "Willst du den Dichter recht verstehen, musst du in Dichter's Lande gehen" (To catch a poet by the horns, thou must browse in his pasture). Consistently therewith, a graphic sketch of Corsica precedes the historic narrative; and the entire labor aims to project the hero's life vividly from its actual setting. The like end is furthered by a wealth of apposite illustrations.

While the topic is forward, we may refer to the contents of *Revue des Études Napoléoniennes* for January-February, 1914:

1. Le dernier des Vétérans de la Grande Armée. *Constantin Woensky*. (Personal souvenirs of the author's interviews and conversations with an officer of the first Napoleon's Army.)
2. Les régiments suisses de l'Empire. *Édouard Chapuisat*.
3. La légende napoléonienne et la presse libérale: la *Minerve*. *Philippe Gonnard*.
4. De la lumière sur la candidature Hohenzollern. *Hermann Hesselbarth*.
5. Bazaine à Metz. *Édouard Driault*.

Mémoires et Documents: La bataille de Zurich raconté par un habitant de cette ville. (*François Barbey*.)

Bulletin Historique: La France Napoléonienne et la littérature étrangère. Histoire intérieure du Premier Empire. *Notes et Nouvelles*.

Revue des Questions Historiques, past October number, contains:

Luther au Couvent 1505-1517. *L. Cristiani*.

L'élection de l'évêque constitutionnelle de la Meurthe en 1791. *Ch. Constantin*.

Un agent de police secrète (1800-1817) Jean-Marie François. (Completed in this issue.) *P. Montablot*.

The contribution on Luther starts with a delightful French epigram: "On ne dira jamais le dernier mot sur rien." As much as to concede, that no matter how thoroughly his true character becomes patent, he will remain a theme of incessant controversy. Probably many people will at least see the fitness of rating Luther largely the dupe, at last, of his own vain rantings: just as other inveterate liars come to believe their fabrications real: habitual invention caging the fabricator fast in his inseparable tenement.

Comptes Rendus, of the same number, include a critique of *Bismarck et l'Église*. *Le Kulturkampf* (1870-1887). (Georges Goyau.) "Oeuvre de premier ordre," is the French reviewer's estimate. He had previously noticed Volumes I and II, showing Bismarck in the lead, the Church all too "patient"; Volumes III and IV bring "Bismarck to Canossa". The *Kulturkampf* had appealed to a national Germany against exotic Rome; but eventually the selfsame *Vaterland*, weary of the upstirred commotion, was resigned to face Rome in respectful suit for peace. One is grateful for the reviewer's reverent philosophy, that whether the powers of this world would assault Rome or disdainfully affect to slight and ignore her, the fruit of all such adverse policies redounds to the ultimate benefit of the Holy See. Prussia would have woven a crown of thorns for the Cath-

olic clergy; the crown went to adorn, but with foiled thorns, Pope Leo XIII.

Since we mentioned sundry German works on Prussia, it seems relevant here to note a French *Histoire de Prusse*, by Albert Waddington. *Tome I*, 596 pp. (1911), comes down to the Great Elector; which proportion would appear to forecast a work of magnitude in its finished shape.

Erudition, stark and bristling, guards a merely casual approach to "Byzantinische Zeitschrift," founded by Karl Krumbacher; but not every one who strolls along Fairmount Avenue, Philadelphia, beholding the austere blank walls of the Eastern Penitentiary, assumes to be on terms of "hail fellow, well met", with the restricted inmates; and thus dare we modestly copy the sheer contents of this Byzantine Review without pretending to intrude behind the gates and bars of them; that is, for a typical recent number, Volume 22, 1 and 2, 1913 (Leipzig, Teubner).

1. Les Canons d'Eusèbe, d'Annionos et d'Andronicos d'après Élie de Nisibe. *D. Serruys*.

2. Abraham d'Éphèse et ses écrits. *M. Jugie*.

3. Arethas von Kaisareia kein Sospitator der Aristoteles-briefe. *A. Baumstark*.

4. Die grusinische Malalasübersetzung. *C. E. Gleye*.

5. De commentarii cujusdam magici vestigiis. *Scrispsit Gustavus Przychocki (Lutetiae Parisiorum)*.

6. Unbekannte griechische Handschriften der Patriarchatsbibliothek zu Jerusalem. *P. Thomsen*.

7. Rettifica ai Παλαεολογεία di Lampros. *Giovanni Mercati*.

8. Δ' ἐπαρχος αἰγύπτου nei papiri di Theadelphia. *Luigi Cantarelli*.

9. Étude sur la propriété ecclésiastique à Carthage d'après les nouvelles 36 et 37 de Justinien. *Ch. Saumagne*.

10. Catherine ou Théodora. *Charles Diehl*.

11. Das römisch-byzantinische Marschlager von 4-10. Jahrhunderten. *Robert Grosse*.

12. Περὶ Σατύρου. Ὑπὸ Ἀβροκόμης Τσακάλωφ (Τραπεζοῦντία).

13. A propos de la question "Orient ou Byzance?"
Louis Bréhier.

14. Τεμάχιον μαρμαρίνου ἁμβωνος, ἐκ τοῦ βορείου μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀλμυροῦ. Ὑπὸ
N. I. Γιαννοπούλου.

15. An early bronze Statuette. O. M. Dalton.

Part II comprises critique; Part III, Bibliographic Notices and minor sundries.

What sounds like an attractive venture for those initiated (this among the book reviews), is: "*Les emprunts turcs dans le gree vulgaire de Roumélie et spécialement d'Andrinople*" (Louis Ronzevalle, S. J.). The Archimandrite Σωφρόνιος Σταμούλης, Patriarchal Inspector of Schools, who examines this work, appears to commend it cordially, though subject to some incisive strictures, as of right from one radically at home in the Levant, over athwart a comparative stranger however capable and observant.

Yes well, or a remark on the polyglot composition of "Byzantinische Zeitschrift." Over here, few people save a scattering of professional researchers will endure even French or German for a medium of literary discourse; but the patronage of *Byzantine Review* finds French, German, Italian, English, Latin and Modern Greek in a single issue: nobody, apparently, twitching the least wrinkle of surprise, let alone discontent, over the cosmopolitan product.

Le Moyen Age, Revue d'Histoire et de Philologie (September-October, 1913) is also erudite, but not nearly so bristling and unapproachable to the humdrum straggler. Sommaire:

1. La lettre interpolée d'Hadrien I^{er} à Tilpin et l'Église de Reims au IX^e siècle. E. Lesne (1^{er} article).

2. L'attitude des États des deux Bourgognes à l'égard de Charles le Téméraire après la bataille de Morat (1474).
Joseph Billioud.

3. La ballade du sacre de Reims. *Ernest Langlois*. (A morsel of piquant textual criticism.)

COMPTES RENDUS. CHRONIQUE. BIBLIOGRAPHIE (Livres Nouveaux. Périodiques).

Under *Comptes Rendus*, there is discussion of L. Sainéan's labors on antiquated slang: *Les Sources de l'Argot ancien* (Paris, 1912, 2 volumes, 8°, complementing the same author's *Argot ancien*). The term jargon itself is found to occur anyhow so early as a Dutch epic fragment probably antedating 1250. The reviewer contests the point that *arton*, medieval slang for bread, was "introduit dans le jargon par les escoliers desbauchez." Its Greek source appears palpable enough; but since the word was already current in the *jargon des Coquillards* (1455), "alors", we are told, "les écoliers ne savaient pas le grec." An accidental or sporadic importation of the kind is conceded as plausible, but not clearly demonstrable. Slang, after all, sometimes outblows the four winds in its baffling caprices; and the sporadic knowledge of *arton*, pure Greek, among Paris medieval students even earlier than 1455, were at least no more strange than the modern Yale students' use of *βρεκκεκεκέξ*, *κοάξ*, *κοάξ*, quite indifferently whether or not their genial *mob* ever scanned a line of the original *Frogs*. Reverence permitting, one may surely surmise an early acquaintance at the Sorbonne with the Greek *Pater Noster*; if so, they had *arton* freely at call, and in student-fashion everywhere, they would be quite as apt to turn it flippantly, on occasion, as to reserve it sacredly.

We spoke above, of topographical *lexicography* in France, no less than in Ireland and Prussia. (One is not informed where this branch of research first started systematically). *Le Moyen Age* notes a meritorious *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Aude* (a field rich in antiquarian ores), by the Abbé Sabarthès (Paris, 1912, 4°, LXXIX-595 pp).

Still more than its current book-reviews, an accompanying *prospectus* engaged one's attention in *Moyen Age*; to wit, a biography of Villon: *François Villon, sa Vie et son Temps* (Pierre Champion. Paris, 2 volumes, 8°, with 49 plates). Might one judge by the detailed contents, this ought to prove a very animating work on one of the greatest of Medieval bards, and one of the few truly robust poets in French, to the mind of most Saxon readers.

Under the *Periodical* head, we sighted certain titles denoting vigorous literary culture among the French *Israélites*; and their quarterly *Revue des Études juives*, t. LXI, Paris, 1911, contained an article of presumable interest for Catholics: "La prière *pro Judaeis* dans la liturgie catholique romaine." (Pp. 213-221). (Louis Canet.) Moïse Schuab is credited with articles on the *Manuscrits du supplément hébreu de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, and on *Les Manuscrits du Consistoire israélite de Paris provenant de la Gueniza du Caire*. "Vive Dieu", quoth Gil Blas too often with irreverent lightness; and so there persists in the French Republic, notwithstanding its official atheism, an active Israelite *Consistory*? What marvel, then, if the Catholic Church aspires to recover her ancient heritage in the hearts and souls of the Gallic people? "Behold, he shall neither slumber nor sleep, that keepeth Israel"; Church Militant, *sursum corda*.

BOOK REVIEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Vol. XIX. 1913.

In a day of reiterated hostility to the Catholic Church, whether on the part of infidel governments abroad or of hysterical and rabid sectarians at home, it is comforting to note with what sanity and reason Catholic topics are treated in the dignified review here cited. Such is particularly the stamp of Mr. A. J. Carlyle's paper on the "Source of Mediaeval Political Theory and its connection with Mediaeval Politics". Instead of trite detraction of the "Dark Ages", there is a discriminating and equitable appreciation of their keener intellectual powers; and the contrast is not unlike that in popular detractions of a supposed unteachable *China*, buried in vast cycles of stagnation, but then suddenly refulgent in our midst with the genial astuteness of Prince Li Hung Chang, or the diamond-cut-diamond flashes of one Mr. Minister Wu. This mediaeval paper, by the way, was read at the International Congress of Historical Studies, London, April, 1913.

Peculiarly judicial, in turn, is Arnold Oskar Meyer's analysis of *Charles I and Rome*. King Charles is shown quite in the light of your "Established" Anglican *Churchman*, or his American Episcopal counterpart *Churchmen* and *Churchwomen*. All of them pronounced "Catholics" in their own estimation; highly averse to dissent and nonconformity, but yet equally unflinching in their aloofness towards "Roman usurpation". Elegy and pathos were already dominant in the tragic end of Charles I; they rather gain than lose in depth of intensity by the spectacle of his proud resistance to all prospects of reunion with the Holy See: unless on such compromise terms as the very principles of Catholic Primacy must always forbid. Neither would he listen to the diplomatic suggestion: "His Holiness will even come up to London, to

receive you into the Catholic Church". Far be it from us to push the parallel to some vista of similar tragic destiny for the "Martyred" King's obdurate fellow *Churchmen*, should they persist in their invincible alienation from the Vicar of Christ on earth; nevertheless, the barrier of mere human pride in their aloofness bodes no good issue for their arrogated "Establishment." St. Peter's Rock is there to stand; better concede that fact and improve its most salutary opportunities?

The article, "Influence of the Clergy, and of Religious and Sectarian Forces, on the American Revolution", sifts and adjudges the same in clear outlines. Naturally, the Catholic minority played a scattering and subordinate part in that conflict; but at least we are shown by what manner of political trimming the scarecrow of "POPERY" came to be set aside in the common zeal for American independence of the British Crown. The following passages will be of interest to our readers:

After the "Great Awakening" (1740), religious fervor had fallen into a decline, and there were many even in New England who had ceased to attend divine service. By the time of the Revolution, there were sad apostates who did not believe that infants unbaptized would be eternally damned, and that "beauty and pleasure, comfort and joy were offensive in the sight of God",¹ yet Samuel Adams, and others taking their cue from him, so aroused the latent Puritan bigotry that pre-revolutionary literature is filled with denunciations of the wise act of the British government, recognizing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec.² Even in an address to the Mohawk Indians, Adams appealed to the religious passions. "Brothers,—They have made a law to establish the religion of the Pope in Canada, which lies so near you. We much fear some of your children may be induced, instead of worshipping the only true God, to pay his dues to images made with their own hands."³ Again and again the Americans were asked whether they would "submit to Popery and Slavery".

¹ Andrews, *Colonial Period*, p. 85.

² *American Archives*, fourth series, I, 180, 184, 189, 194, 202-203, 204, 205, 206, 212, 215-216, 218, 498-499, 513, 708-709, 777, 801, 816, 853-854, 912, 920-921, 959, 1104, 1146-1147, 1310, 1313, 1315, 1824-1825, 1828, 1831, 1836-1837, 1845, 1846, 1847.

How real this danger seemed to them, we can comprehend only when we recall their traditional fear and hatred of the Roman Church and of the Catholic French in Canada. In 1745, the Puritan expedition against Louisburg was a crusade. On their flag was the motto, "*Nil desperandum, Christo duce*". One of the chaplains is said to have carried a hatchet to destroy images in Catholic churches, and one old deacon wrote: "Oh that I could be with you and dear parson Moody in that church, to destroy the images there set up."⁴ It was a regular colonial custom at the time of the Revolution that the pope and the Devil were religiously burned on Guy Fawkes Day. Calvinists were ready to believe any yarn concerning Catholic deceit and cunning. William Livingston (1755) stoutly affirmed that the French persuaded the Indians that the Virgin Mary was born in Paris, and that our Saviour was crucified at London by the English.⁵ To Jeremy Belknap, the Church of Rome was "the mother of harlots and abominations". Samuel Adams, in 1768, "verily believed", that "much more is to be dreaded from the growth of Popery in America, than from Stamp-Acts or any other Acts destructive of men's civil rights".⁶ He thought one should be very cautious in talking about popery before youth, lest unwittingly one should speak "the language of the Beast":⁷ John Adams, too, was alarmed (1771) that "the barriers against popery, erected by our ancestors, are suffered to be destroyed, to the hazard even of the Protestant religion".⁸ He was much pleased that "the rascally Roman Catholics" of Braintree did not dare show themselves. Jonathan Mayhew and Ezra Stiles, powerful ecclesiastical figures in New England, were both violently prejudiced against the "Romish church".⁹

⁴ *Writings of Samuel Adams*, III, 213.

⁵ U. Parsons, *Life of Pepperrell* (third ed.), p. 52. See Cotton Mather's *Diary*, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, seventh series, VII, 572; VIII, 30; Burrage, *Maine at Louisburg*, pp. 17, 25, 45; Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, p. 272; *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVII, 318, 514 (1891).

⁶ Sedgwick, *William Livingston*, pp. 97-98. He spoke of the "superstitious rites and fantastic trumperies of popery". See also Adams, *Works*, II, 5.

⁷ Samuel Adams, *Writings*, I, 201, 203. See also Davies, *Sermons*, I, 21; III, 120, 146.

⁸ Samuel Adams, *Writings*, I, 209, 210.

⁹ Adams, *Works*, II, 252. His antipathy toward Catholics appears repeatedly. *Ibid.*, II, 5; III, 254, 268; X, 188.

⁹ Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 133-134; *Diary of Stiles*, I, 455, 490.

When we find bigotry like this in the minds of American leaders, we are not surprised that a favorite device on the banners carried by Puritan mobs, after the Quebec Act, was the demand "no Popery",¹⁰ and that one of the motives animating the captors of Ticonderoga, was to secure the colonies from the incursions of the Roman Catholics, "those children of darkness".¹¹ Ezra Stiles was astonished that the King and Lords and Commons, a whole Protestant Parliament—even the bishops concurring—should establish the Romish Church and "Idolatry" over three-quarters of their empire;¹² and he preached on "the Nature and Danger of Popery in this Land". It was, thought one of Silas Deane's friends, the finishing stroke for the British ministry.¹³ Judge Drayton, in South Carolina, having in mind the ministry's effort to establish the Roman Catholic religion, pictured "the flames which are lighted, blown up, and fed with blood by the Roman Catholic doctrines; doctrines . . . which tend to establish a most cruel tyranny in Church and State—a tyranny under which all Europe groaned for many ages".¹⁴ A citizen of the county of Hampshire addressing the inhabitants of Massachusetts, expressed his forebodings that, "As a single amour induced one King to change the National Religion from the Roman Catholick to the Protestant, so a passion not more justifiable, though perhaps less personal, may influence some future Monarch to barter away the Protestant for the religion of the Canadians".¹⁵

Public assemblies as well as individuals made their solemn protest. The New York assembly expostulated with the British government, and the famous Suffolk resolves deprecated the act as "dangerous in extreme degree to the Protestant religion".¹⁶ The Continental Congress approved of these resolves, and took the same ground, as to the Catholic menace, in their addresses to the people of Great Britain and to the colonies.¹⁷ It does not matter that Congress, a few months later, when it saw the advantage of allying Canada with the American

¹⁰ *American Archives*, fourth series, II, 48.

¹¹ *The Remembrancer*, I, 119 (1775); *American Archives*, fourth series, III, 637.

¹² *Diary of Stiles*, I, 455, 490. This act was connected with the controversy over the American episcopate. Parliament might exercise the same power to set up bishops in America. Adams, *Works*, X, 188.

¹³ *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.* (1886), *The Deane Papers*, I, 4.

¹⁴ *American Archives*, fourth series, I, 959; fifth series, II, 1048.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 98 (March, 1775).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 777, 902, 1315. Cumberland County, Massachusetts, took the same ground. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

¹⁷ John Jay, *Correspondence*, I, 27; *American Archives*, fourth series, I, 912, 920, 927.

Union, "perceived the fate of the Catholic and Protestant to be strongly linked together",¹⁸ for the earlier sentiments were the real, and the later the feigned ones.

Even while the commissioners of Congress were soliciting the friendship of the people of Canada, Washington was obliged to issue an order to the Continental troops against the "ridiculous and childish custom of burning the effigy of the Pope".¹⁹ The general liberalizing influences of the Revolutionary period, the French alliance, and the fact that many American Catholics embraced the Patriot cause, brought about a much more tolerant attitude in America toward the Roman faith, but we have dealt here with the effects of the prevailing intolerance at the beginning of the war.

The Whig leaders not only made use of such religious fanaticism as they found suited to their purposes, but they were obliged to combat certain religious prejudices which were restraining men from open rebellion. All Episcopalians were by the rubrical formula concerning the "Most Gracious Sovereign Lord King George, and the Royal Family", duly and piously impressed with the divine right of the king and the sanctity of his royal prerogative.²⁰ Many of other denominations, who had faith as a grain of mustard seed, were made slow to wrath against King George because they were worried over certain Scriptural passages which were dinned in their ears by the loyal defenders of the crown. "Thou shalt not revile the gods, nor curse the ruler of thy people", was a solemn warning to many, as was "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought". They remembered, too, that "the king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion", and they wished rather his favor which "is as dew upon the grass". The "divine right" theory of government was simple and easier to understand than some more democratic doctrines. "I am bound by God's law to honor the King" was the quiet faith of many Loyalists.²¹

We have already seen how the Puritan preachers uttered their holy breathings against the doctrine of submission and non-resistance, but in those early arguments the quibble was made that an oppressive ruler was a tyrant, and not a king. They had not met squarely the question of kingship as a form of government. When all the logic of events (1775-1776) betrayed a drift toward independence, and actual denial of the king himself, many halted and drew back. The "divine

¹⁸ *American Archives*, fourth series, I, 930; V, 411, 412.

¹⁹ Sparks, *Washington*, III, 144.

²⁰ *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV, 277.

²¹ *American Archives*, fifth series, II, 985; Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 323-324; Merriam, *American Political Theories*, p. 66; *American Archives*, fourth series, II, 132; V, 839, 850.

right" reasoning had to be met. Jefferson in his *Summary View* (1774) had called the king's attention to the fact that he was "no more than the chief officer of the people, appointed by the laws . . . to assist in working the great machine of government, erected for their use". There was no "divine right" admitted there. Samuel Langdon attacked it openly in his famous election sermon (1775). "Let them," said he, "who cry up the divine right of kings consider that the only form of government which had a proper claim to a divine establishment was so far from including the idea of a king, that it was a high crime for Israel to ask to be in this respect like other nations."²² But it was Thomas Paine—one at least in the odor of sanctity, for he had preached without taking orders—who made the most effective attack upon the divine-right dogma. "Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the Heathen", he wrote, "which the will of the Almighty . . . expressly disapproves." As to their hereditary descent, how absurd! We do not attempt to establish an hereditary wise man, or an hereditary mathematician, or an hereditary poet. A good king is a miracle, he declared, and the history of kings is only the history of the folly and depravity of human nature. Monarchy, he wrote, subtly appealing to the American aversion to Catholicism, is the popery of government.²³ George III was a frantic potentate in breeches, a brutish tyrant. In general, kings were chosen because of a ruffianly pre-eminence. "Sceptered savage," "royal brute," "breathing automaton," were the rhetorical missiles with which Paine broke in pieces the idol of the king-worshippers.²⁴ After Paine's sophisms, and "keen attempts upon the passions", as John Adams found them, there was little recurrence to the "divine right" argument except by out-and-out Loyalists.²⁵

We have thus far barely spoken of the opposition to all this pious sedition. The Episcopalian ministry did not meanwhile sit with bridled

²² Jefferson, *Writings* (Ford ed.), I, 429; Thornton, *Pulpit of the Revolution*, p. 239. For contemporary attacks, see *American Archives*, fourth series, II, 58; III, 1106. Here again the latter-day Puritans had only to develop the ideas of their ancestors of 150 years earlier. Milton mourned that Englishmen should "fall back or rather creep back . . . to their once abjured and detested thralldom of kingship". He asked, "Where is this goodly Tower of a Commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow Kings?" Masson, *Life of Milton*, V, 647.

²³ *American Archives*, fourth series, IV, 1544-1548.

²⁴ Paine, *Common Sense*. See "Cato" on this subject, *American Archives*, fourth series, V, 545, 546.

²⁵ *American Archives*, fifth series, II, 939.

tongue, mute and unprotesting. But in the North they preached to a small minority of people, while in the South, especially in Virginia, they were in bad repute, and had, moreover, little influence over their congregations, made up of a planter aristocracy²⁶ which took its religion not over seriously.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF IRISH HISTORY. By R. Barry O'Brien. Introduction by John E. Redmond, M. P. P. J. Kenedy and Sons, New York.

That Ireland is almost at the haven for which it has steered for more than a century is emphasized by the republication of a little volume bearing the title "A Hundred Years of Irish History", by R. Barry O'Brien. A valuable service has been rendered by this revision and expansion of a lecture delivered more than a decade ago before the Irish Literary Society of London. The period reviewed extends from 1800 to 1900. In his foreword, Mr. Redmond summarizes the chief events in Ireland's long Parliamentary struggle for the right to govern itself. Mr. Redmond explains the relations of Ireland with England, and tells of the various stages by which the Home Rule cause has been advanced to its present place as the greatest issue in Great Britain. One of the most notable achievements of the Liberal Ministry was the effective blow which, in the name of the English democracy, and with the decisive help of a compact Irish Party, it dealt to the House of Lords, "the most obstructive institution the world has ever seen." The story of Ireland's misgovernment is related by Mr. O'Brien in an incisive way, and with the Celtic conviction, based on historical facts, that England's many promises to the island were broken, that her rule was a blight upon the country, that her people were deprived of the means of existence, of their church and schools—but not of their faith nor of their courage to proclaim it. The record of injustices perpetrated upon the Irish people is a formidable one and supports Mr. Redmond's declaration that "up to 1869—always excepting

²⁶ I hope in a future study of the great sectarian conflict going on before and during the war, to take up this whole problem in a more satisfactory manner.

the Melbourne administration—not a single act was done by the English Parliament which was calculated to obliterate the memory of past wrongs, and to give the Irish people confidence in English statesmanship.” Mr. O’Brien briefly states the victories for Ireland within the recent past: the gains and losses. Political disabilities have been swept away almost entirely; religious inequalities have been removed; the condition of the cultivators of the soil has been improved greatly; the local government act of 1898 annihilated the power of the English garrison in Ireland and threw the local administration of the country into the hands of the people. The one great loss is the decline in the population of the country from 8,000,000 in 1848, to 4,700,000 in 1889. Mr. O’Brien’s story is a most satisfactory analysis of the persistent battle of Irish autonomy.

P. A. KINSLEY.

THREE-QUARTERS OF A CENTURY (1807 to 1882). A Retrospect, by the late Rev. Augustus Thebaud, S. J. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann, LL. D. Vol. II, Italy. Pp. 201. New York, 1913. The United States Historical Society.

The present volume of Father Thebaud’s Work is important chiefly because of the side-lights it throws upon the history of Latin Europe during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The narrative of the author’s brief residence in Italy is attractive and valuable either for one already acquainted with the thin transverse section of European History illuminated here and there by his reminiscences, or for the general reader who lacks this knowledge. For the former its delightful, familiar details will help to quicken and color the oftentimes sluggish and sombre pages of history; for the latter it will arouse interest in, and perhaps stimulate a study of, a very important period in the life of the Church.

Of course, Father Thebaud had no intention of writing a formal, scientific historical treatise. His narrative, though covering a period of barely two years, is not always consecutive. His details are not as a rule grouped systematically. But we do not look for strict continuity and system in a book of this kind. The author’s freedom from the restraint imposed

by the rules of scientific method adds to the freshness and charm of the narrative.

He gives us an account of his journey from France to Rome by way of Leghorn and Florence, and of a two years' stay at the Eternal City, the former part of which period he passed as a novice at St. Andrew's and the latter as a student in Fourth Year Theology at the Roman College of the Jesuits, or the Gregorian University as it was called. In the latter place Ballerini was a class-mate, Perrone taught Theology and Secchi, then a young man, had already begun to distinguish himself in Astronomy. Besides these and other famous men, Father Thebaud knew personally Cardinal Fesch and Dom Prosper Gueranger, and gives us several interesting details of these two celebrities.

Not the least important part of the narrative deals with the state of religion in Italy and France during 1836 and 1837. All through the two hundred pages we can trace the effects of the author's keen, constant observation of that which is most dear to a priest's heart—the spiritual condition and tendencies of the people. Although there is no chapter set aside exclusively for the purpose of recording the result of this observation, it is so interspersed with the other matters dealt with that we cannot help realizing that everything else treated of was secondary in the mind of the author to the all-important business of salvation. This gives a solid basis and a proper perspective and poise to the book, and makes one feel that the reading of it has indeed been "worth while."

Well-deserved congratulations are due to Mr. Herberman for the editing of the MS., and to the United States Catholic Historical Society for the pleasing manner in which the book has been presented to the public.

H. C. SCHUYLER

STUDENTS' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By A. B. Alderman, County Superintendant of Schools, Linn County, Iowa. Educator Publishing Co., Marion, Iowa.

To cover four centuries and upwards of American history in a small volume of 446 pages inclusively of Appendix, Maps,

and Index, is to pack knowledge in a nutshell, fast enough, if not *sure* enough by the finer behests of accuracy. It is hard to pass a decisive sentence on feats of this kind, when all the world concedes their multitude of inseparable difficulties no less of plan and outline than of adequate execution. May the casual *Catholic* reviewer say at least these few words to the credit of Mr. Alderman's product, that he shows no signs of intended reproach to the Catholic elements in American civilization. Here and there he pays positive respect to the Catholic faith and practice; perhaps oftener he withholds due tribute to Catholic merit simply because he writes from a born and bred bias of Protestant habits and culture. His chiefly latent unfairness to the part played by the Church in America, in a thousand and one channels of moral influence both direct and interwoven, therefore seems to proceed from *unconsciousness* of Catholic premises; not at all from prejudice thereto, nor from deliberate slight and malice. He tells his tale in brisk, tangible style for intelligent beginners of history in the common school programme. If he has not produced the best book of an available hundred good guides of the sort, his work still has a distinctive concrete value among the commendable hundred. Pupils who faithfully con his paragraphs and sharply sketched epochs, ought to advance along higher grades with a clear head for more involved and thoughtful study; and with some stimulus, too, on the side of awakened imaginative interest. As in algebra, either a precise apprehension must have free play, but strict play from the start, or the sequence and consequence will grow muddled beyond repair; so, in history, the rudimentary notions must be lucidly attachable, notion for notion, to coherent further developments, or our last record becomes chaotic blurring. One of the pleasing features of Mr. Alderman's volume to a denizen of the Atlantic seaboard, for instance, is its home-soil flavor of the great Middle West, thereby shifting our platform from too conventional an older boundary to vistas of large elbow-room and neighborly expansiveness. Among the serious philosophic limitations of the book, we should reckon the barely relieved harsh censure of *Spain* that strikes the deeper appraiser of Spanish character, for better

for worse. It is easy to condemn Spain for sheer faults and vices of Spain's *government*; yet these do not annul the true grandeur of the Spanish people if one can learn to distinguish between accumulated mountains of worldly pride and their inner magic of gems that will outshine the stars in the day of judgment. Not to depreciate the sublime, in its day, with suggestion of the ridiculous now and here, but only to call attention to an accident of the printer's art, we would add that in the copy before us, the portrait of JOHN ADAMS appears badly pitted with smallpox: or is this to inculcate compulsory vaccination?

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF COSTA RICA.
by Ricardo Fernandez Guardia, Translated by Harry Weston Van Dyke, New York. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1913. pp. XXI, 456.

Geographically it is only a small territory, that republic of "the rich coast," which joins our isthmian possessions on the South to the other portions of Central America on the North. With an area only about half that of Pennsylvania, and a population say one-twentieth as large, the little republic easily makes up by its other rich endowments for its territorial limitations. Untold ages before Columbus set foot on its teeming shores, the Indian aborigines had been extracting from the bowels of its mighty Cordillera, and "placering" in its mountain streams, the precious metals which they fashioned into many a cunning shape and device that still challenges the wonderment, if not always the admiration, of the more critical artistic sense of the present day. How much of these mineral treasures the *Conquistadores* bore away with them to old Castile, and of how many ingots the English pirates robbed the Spaniards, no one can tell. Nevertheless, the golden veins, after these uncounted centuries of draining, are still unexhausted. The latest statistics are not at the reviewer's command, but in 1908 the export of gold and silver bars amounted in value to about \$723,000.

The name Costa Rica,—which first appears in an account of an expedition by Martin Estate to the river San Juan in

1529, twenty years after the discovery of the country by Columbus,—was given probably on account of the gold mines found in Talamanca, rather than, as some have supposed, on account of the luxuriant vegetation with which the land abounds. Nevertheless, the real wealth of Costa Rica proved in the end to lie more in her plants than her minerals. Her luscious fruits—her platanos and pineapples, but especially her bananas, are living treasures more precious than the gold of Talamanca. But this has come about in our own times. In 1880, says Dr. Mozans, only 360 bunches of these luscious fruits were sent to the United States. Now the amount shipped from Lemon alone averages much beyond one million bunches a month. During the year 1908 the number of bunches that left Port Lemon aggregated over thirteen millions, and this figure has since been greatly surpassed. Besides the daily shipments to the United States, weekly cargoes go to France and England (*Up the Orinoco*, p. 405). In addition to these golden harvests, the Costa Rican plantations teem with sugar, coffee, tobacco; its forests are thick with rubber and precious woods,—mahogany, rosewood, cedar, *lignum vitae*; and its glades are rich in manifold varieties of medicinal herbs.

The Catholic is the religion of the State, but religious liberty is guaranteed by the Constitution. Elementary education is compulsory and free. "Costa Rica has about twice as many teachers in its schools and colleges as soldiers in its army," In 1907 there were open 358 elementary schools with an enrollment of 25,545. For secondary instruction there are at San José a lyceum for boys and a college for girls (including a normal department). The towns of Cartago, Alajuela and Herlin have each a college. There are schools for law and medicine, a national museum, a national library, the University of Santo Tomaso and the Physico-Geographical and Meteorological Institution. "The government has made a practice of defraying the expenses of a number of young men who are sent as students to European universities; and by the courtesy of the Chilean government six Costa Ricans are offered free instruction at the pedagogical institution at Santiago (Chili)."

The foregoing elementary facts are here set down because one may, without suspicion of judging rashly, take it for granted that to the average American, even Catholic, reader, the name Costa Rica simply stands for a small republic 'way down somewhere in Central America near "our canal,"—an out of the way country from which the United Fruit Company gets for us principally some bananas and to which we owe an occasional cup of coffee. The people being Latins, at least by descent, must necessarily be backward, ignorant, superstitious. When "we" get things in shape in Panama our "American" culture will, of course, radiate North and South, and we'll enlighten the semi-barbarians both of Costa Rica and Colombia. Moreover, it is hoped that the few facts mentioned above concerning the country will induce some readers to inform themselves more fully on the conditions of our Latin-American neighbors, even those beyond the Mexican border on the South, and with such interest aroused they may want to take up with intelligent appreciation the beautiful volume introduced at the head of this paper. It is an encouraging sign of the new awakening to a truer appreciation of the social and cultural condition of our Spanish-American neighbors, that a work such as the one before us should appear in an English translation and be published in the very metropolis of the United States—a sign that is all the more encouraging in view of the fact that both the publishers, and, we presume, the translator, are not of the religious faith professed by Costa-Ricans and, amongst these, by the author himself. For, as Mr. Van Dyke observes, it is particularly in English-speaking countries where traditional animosities based on religious, political and commercial principles different from those prevailing in Spanish-speaking lands that the most notable incidents in the history of Spanish discoveries and conquests are misunderstood. In most cases these have been judged with prejudice and greatly distorted. "We North Americans get our conceptions of the conquering Spaniard from such works as Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and the tales of other English romancers, which glorify such arch-pirates as Drake, Raleigh and Hawkins, and picture the work

of the *Conquistadores* as wholly one of blood, rapine and destruction, inspired by the lust for gold. This is far from the truth." And again: "No greater injustice could be done to the *Conquistadores* than to charge them with the misdeeds of the comparatively few who were treacherous and cruel. Mistaken in their methods they may have been—unduly zealous in their efforts to coerce the conquered savages; but they were chivalrous and brave, almost incredibly brave from our modern viewpoint, and their methods were the methods of the times. They had been practiced in Europe since Christianity gained the power and more than ever at the dawn of the Reformation" (p. xviii).

It is not the purpose of the present reviewer to do more than call attention to this able, scholarly and interesting work on the discovery of Costa Rica, and to emphasize its importance as throwing new light on the early history of a sister republic which to our own loss—we had almost said, shame—is almost a *terra incognita*. That history is here told from the original archives and told with an evidently impartial spirit. The vices that sullied the lives of some of the conquerors are not glossed over nor are the virtues of the rest over-magnified. Yet dull must be the imagination, and cold the sympathies, of the reader who can rise from the perusal of these pages without having his admiration awakened and his feelings quickened by the deeds of these fearless heroes. "Here we have the story of the intrepid Gil Gonzalez D'Avila and of the friar *Conquistador*, Juan de Estrada Ravago, who was so adored by the Indians, and who stripped himself even to the shirt on his back to assuage the sufferings of the needy; of the illustrious Caballero of Salamanca, Juan Vanquez de Coronado, generous always and humane in all his acts; of Don Rodrigo Arius Nealdonado, who penetrated into the very heart of the terrible Salamanca country without firing an arquebus or drawing a sword, and who afterwards ended his romantic life within the cloisters of the Bethlehemite order. Nor can we withhold our admiration from the noble but unfortunate Diego de Nicuesa, or the valiant Captain Alonso Calero or Hernan Sanchez de Badajoz. All of these—and

there are many more—were men of a superior mould, of whom any nation might be proud" (p. xix). The relative influence of Catholicism and Protestantism on civilization has been a theme for debate upon which even the immortal Balmes has not said the last word; and in this connection the thought with which Mr. Van Dyke closes his introduction to the volume before us is well worth remembering. "It has been said," he observes, "by one of the ablest of recent historians, that the slower and more thorough colonizing methods of the Anglo-Saxon would never have won dominion over the American continents. Yet in those two centuries Spain settled and Christianized a world larger than Europe and built up a political structure far more admirably effective and enlightened, considering her interests as a great power, than the early government maintained in India by the English; she created an empire capitated by the greatest cities in the world of their day; Mexico, Guatemala and Lima were each in their turn richer, more cultured and greater commercially than any cities of their time in Europe" (p. xxi). *Sed verbum sapienti sat.* Señor Guardia has given us a book as instructive as it is interesting. Mr. Van Dyke's version is perfect English, and both author and translator are happy in their publishers.

FRANCIS P. SIEGFRIED.

THE SOCIETY'S FINANCIAL ACCOUNT FOR LAST YEAR

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES FROM DEC. 1, 1912 TO NOV. 30, 1913.

Receipts.

Dues from active members	\$2098 50
Dues from contributing members	34 00
Dues from life members	750 00
	<hr/> \$2882 50
Subscription to "Records"	815 60
Advertisements in "Records"	550 70
Sale of "Records"	39 18
	<hr/> 1405 48
Sale of duplicates	5 00
Donations	117 00
Proceeds of lecture, to date	782 50
Proceeds of card parties	73 90
	<hr/> \$5266 38
Repayment of loan and interest on Endow- ment Fund	433 23
Interest on coupons, due Dec. 1, 1913	95 00
Interest on deposit of General Fund	31 73
	<hr/> \$5826 34
Balance December 1, 1912	377 14
	<hr/> \$6203 48

Expenses.

Interest on mortgage	\$154 00
Taxes and water rent	92 00
Coal	260 50
Gas	54 00
Repairs, house-furnishings, etc.	107 50
	<hr/> \$668 00
Printing "Records"	788 34
Commission on advertisements	239 95
	<hr/> 1019 29

Account of salary of Editor.....	100 00	
Books	11 80	
Stationery, postage, printing	812 72	
Dues in Federation of Catholic Societies (two years)	30 00	
Dues in Federation of Historical Societies....	2 00	
Salary of clerks.....	840 00	
Expenses of Lecture	891 00	
Loan to Endowment Fund	309 00	
	<hr/>	2987 52 4674 81
Balance Nov. 30, 1913		1528 67
		<hr/>
		<u>\$6203 48</u>

Endowment Fund.

Subscriptions to Nov. 30, 1913	\$4000 50	
Loan from General Fund	300 00	
Interest on deposit, less interest paid on bonds	133 13	
	<hr/>	\$4433 73
Bonds	\$3900 00	
Repayment of loan and interest to General Fund	433 23	
	<hr/>	<u>\$4333 23</u>
Balance in Beneficial Saving Fund, Nov. 30, 1913		<u>\$100 50</u>

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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NO. 2

THE AIR OF "THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER"

A REPLY

I have carefully read the long article on the above subject from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Henry, but I am not convinced in the least. The article runs to more than 45 pages, and I fear I must class it with the comment of Waller on Milton's *Paradise Lost*, so aptly quoted by Dr. Henry: "If its length be not a merit, it hath no other." It is not my intention to spread myself out, and I shall not occupy even a sixth of the space given to Dr. Henry's article, but I wish to take up his points *seriatim*, and deal briefly with them.

To begin with, it is gratifying that Dr. Henry will not deny an Irish origin to the tune. Even this is a concession for which the advocates of the Irish provenance of the air must feel duly thankful. And now for a short reply.

I. As regards "expert opinion", I hold by the Irish origin. The opinion with which I am credited, in the quotation from *Church Music*, is that of Dr. W. H. Cummings, and not mine. The absence of quotation marks leads to a wrong inference, as I quoted the words of my friend, taken from a letter. And, let me add, Dr. Cummings was at

fault. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Sonneck in his *Report* (p. 20) also endeavors to discredit my reference to Dr. Cummings, but I have the letter before me as I write. Mr. Sonneck also without reservation (p. 27) quotes the air as by John Stafford Smith.

2. The Irish origin of the words of "Anacreon" is evident from even a cursory examination of the phrases: "lend ye", "inspire ye", "the devil a goddess", "risible fiz", etc.

3. The characteristics of the tune are Irish, and point to O'Carolan. My quotation from Dr. Cummings refers to the air being reminiscent of Dr. Boyce, which Dr. Cummings really believed. My own opinion is that the air is by O'Carolan, and I leave it to experts to study O'Carolan's many compositions in order to corroborate my opinion. Incidentally Dr. Henry waxes merry over my previous identification of the Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle", but my identification has been upheld by some of the ablest musical critics, and the Irish origin of the tune of "Yankee Doodle" is now an established fact.

4. It is distinctly uncritical to compare "Anacreon" and "Bumpers, Squire Jones" bar by bar, for even a tyro at tuneology (to coin a word) would be hopelessly muddled in endeavoring to trace variants. I myself have analyzed some twenty variants of one particular Irish melody, and each of these variants though of common origin presents notable bar differences, yet the tune is really the same. Let me assure Dr. Henry that the general structure and the slightly abnormal range of the melody of "Anacreon" are on all fours with that of "The Princess Royal", "Bumpers, Squire Jones", "Rodney's Glory", and other magnificent compositions of O'Carolan. I may also add that the earliest title of the song "Bumpers, Squire Jones" was as here given, not "Bumpers Esquire Jones", as Dr. Henry gives it. I fail to trace the remotest similarity between this air

and the "Virginia Reel" (the Irish Washerwoman) as suggested by Dr. Henry: in fact there is a much greater resemblance between it and a jig tune (not a Reel) known as "The Top of Cork Road" (Father O'Flynn). Dr. Henry has fallen into a trap by following Captain O'Neill's *Irish Folk Music* when he dates Burke Thumoth's Collection as 1720, and styles it "the *first* collection of Irish Airs." Both statements are wrong. The date of Burke Thumoth's volume was 1743, and Neale of Dublin had published an Irish Collection in 1726. Nor does Dr. Henry appear to be aware that the tune was printed in O'Carolan's Collection in 1747, and reprinted by John Lee in January 1779, not 1780.

5. The "Ratio Convenientiae" argument is worthless. Hullah is no authority to quote nowadays, and even Chappell, the great protagonist of English Music, has been discredited in dozens of cases, notably by the late Mr. John Glen. But I do not shirk the six instances quoted by Dr. Henry. Here they are:

(a) "The Girl I left behind me" is not an English air: it is certainly Irish, and has been proved so up to the hilt. For proof see the *Musical Times* for 1913.

(b) "My lodging is on the cold ground", far from being of "undoubted English origin", was printed as "a favorite Irish air", as far back as 1780; a fact of which Chappell and Hullah and his copyists were unaware.

(c) "Shepherds I have lost my love", claimed as of "English origin", was printed as an Irish air in 1714, set to phonetic Irish words, while the English words were set to the air by an Irishman, George Ogle, in 1760. It was also printed as an Irish air by Daniel Wright in 1727; but neither Chappell nor Hullah was acquainted with these facts.

(d) "O could we do with this world of ours" is also claimed as "a favorite tune from the time of Elizabeth."

The air is given by Tom Moore as "Basket of Oysters". In 1778 it was printed as an Irish air under the title of "The Basket of Oysters or Paddy the Weaver", and was previously included in an Irish collection of 1750. Earlier still in the seventeenth century it was known in Ireland as "An Rogari dubh" (the Black Rogue).

(e) After all that has been written on the Irish origin of the well-known "Cruiscin Ian" (vulgarly "The Cruiskeen lawn") it is unscholarly to trot out Hullah's vagaries. The so-called "Danish" air, also claimed as English and Scotch, is as Irish as the Hill of Howth. Neither Chappell nor Hullah was aware that the air was printed by an Irish dramatist in 1729, nor did they advert to the fact that our Irish air was introduced into Denmark by the Irish harpers at the Danish Court. Incidentally, I may be pardoned for mentioning that three Irish harpers in succession were Harpers to the Danish Court from 1601 to 1634, a fact which I owe to the courtesy of my friend Dr. Angul Hammerich, of the University of Copenhagen.

(f) "Rich and Rare" has been sufficiently discussed, and it is more than probable that it is the original melody brought over by Irish monks to England and hence regarded as "English". It is too frequently forgotten that the monasteries of Malmesbury and Glastonbury were Irish, and it is also certain that St. Aldhelm and St. Dunstan were taught by Irish monks.

And now having disposed of these six "ascriptions of tunes", I hope that Dr. Henry will be more cautious in future in quoting at second-hand from either Chappell or Hullah, although he is good enough to describe Hullah as "an acceptable source". The "mutual borrowings" may be hard to unearth, but as a rule it is the English and the Scotch who are the guilty parties. Ireland never had any reason to borrow melodies from any country. She has always stood, and, please God, always will stand as "the land

of song", and "the island of saints and scholars". Of course, at the same time, I do not wish to minimize the efforts of Dr. Henry, who assures his readers that he makes his statements "with equal confidence, and from an equally acceptable source, with those of Dr. Flood".

I shall not waste any time in discussing Dr. Henry's "negative argument". Let me finish by briefly answering his four points.

1. The date of the copyright of the Anacreontic Song arranged as a Glee is 8 May, 1799. Dr. Henry quotes Mr. Sonneck's *Report* for the publication of the song, but he omits the Rhames copy of *circa* 1778, and he omits the musical setting in the *Perth Musical Miscellany* of 1786 (now before me) as well as a Dublin printed music score of 1791. Mr. Sonneck's "cautious attitude towards the prevailing ascription of the tune to Smith" is not borne out by the *Report*.

2. Smith arranged the Air as a Glee. Yes! he arranged it, and that was about all he did with it, and that badly enough. I take "harmonized by the Author" simply at its face value, that is to say, Smith, the author or editor of the *Fifth Book of Canzonets*, etc., arranged the melody as a glee; but it does not imply that he composed the song tune. And let me add that without further proof the title page shows that Smith's compilation could not have been prior to the year 1785, for he describes himself as "Gent. of His Majesty's Chapels Royal", a post that he only got on December 16th, 1784. Of course the actual date of publication, as Mr. Blake discovered, was 8 May, 1799.

3. "Smith never claimed the tune as his." He did not, for the best of reasons. During his long life this British musician never publicly owned the claim: and he allowed it to be printed by the thousand for forty years without once admitting his claim! Very like a Britisher! On May 8, 1799, he merely published a volume, with the melody ar-

ranged in glee form; not a word as to being the composer. If Dr. Henry is logical in assuming that Smith meant to pose as composer of the tune, he must also admit that Smith composed "God Save the King". The cases are quite parallel. In one case Smith arranged a tune as a Glee, and in the other he arranged a tune as Canon in Subdiapente. And let me add that "dear old Smith" (if I may be permitted to quote from Mr. Sonneck's lucid letter) in both cases was merely an arranger of melodies long before his time. In short, the argument for the ascription of "Anacreon" to Smith is miserably weak and will not stand investigation.

4. The authorship of the words is most likely of Irish origin. If Dr. Henry, or any one else, can substantiate Ralph Tomlinson's claim as original author then I apologize. Mr. Warrington merely relies on Dr. Cummings, but Dr. Cummings told me a different story, and so the matter rests. I have already noted some of the "Irishisms" in the song.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

A BRIEF REJOINDER

1. Dr. Flood, if quoting from Dr. Cummings, should have used quotation-marks. He nowhere gave a "reference" to Cummings as authority for his statements. But Dr. Flood did, in 1909, believe Smith to be the composer, for he then wrote in *Church Music*: "... I also examined the copy containing the *information* that the music was *composed* by John Stafford Smith." (Italics mine). It is clear that, in 1909, Dr. Flood held "author" to mean "composer" (in Smith's phrase, "harmonized by the author").

2. Dr. Flood's assertion is amazingly reckless. The argument is worthless, for the quoted expressions are not at all peculiarly Irish. I show this in my fuller rejoinder by quoting Milton, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Urquhart, N. Bailey, etc., etc.

3. Dr. Flood should have placed quotation-marks when quoting from Dr. Cummings.

4. In his article, Dr. Flood said that "Anacreon" had "all" the characteristics of "Bumper", but failed to instance a single one. I printed both melodies side by side to show that they differed, not merely bar for bar, but also in (1) beginning, (2) ending, (3) rhythm, (4) length, (5) phrasing, (6) melodic progressions, (7) spirit. Dr. Flood's present argument based on musical structure and range is futile, as my fuller rejoinder shows. And Dr. Flood is wrong in respect of O'Neill, who gives 1742 and 1745 as the dates of two of Thumoth's volumes. I would also trust O'Neill for the other date of 1780.

5. I merely pitted ascription against ascription—Chappell and Hullah against Dr. Flood; and I expressly declined to discuss the objective value of any of the ascriptions. But Dr. Flood does “spread” himself in the quagmire of ascriptions, and misleads by using the word “shirk”. He also is wrong about the “statements”, for it was Hullah, and not I, who made the “statements”. Also, one needs no caution in quoting at second-hand, if only one makes it clear that he is doing so. I made this clear by elaborately correct quotation-marks. Would that Dr. Flood had been equally correct in quoting from Dr. Cummings! I quoted at first-hand from Hullah, whose volume apparently has never been seen by Dr. Flood.

1. I did not “omit” anything, as I professedly quoted from Sonneck, who did not include the Rhames copy, etc.

2, 3. Dr. Flood writes so carelessly that even an Aristotle might (wrongly) infer that I had fathered the quoted headings. My article shows that they were based on that of Dr. Flood.

4. In 1909, Dr. Flood wrote in *Church Music*: “There is no doubt as to the fact that Ralph Tomlinson wrote the song in the winter of 1770”. He now challenges me, or any one else, to prove that Tomlinson wrote it. Gentle reader, can you make anything out of this beautiful muddle?

H. T. HENRY.

A FULLER REJOINDER TO DR. FLOOD'S "REPLY"

There are two interesting points in Dr. Flood's Reply. In both of these he offers some argument for two most important assertions which he had made in the *Ave Maria* article but for which he had not vouchsafed any proof, argument, citation or reference. The arguments he now brings forward should properly have been given in the *Ave Maria*, and I will consider them forthwith, because logically they belong rather to his original article than to his present Reply.

I. PROOFS OF THE IRISH ORIGIN OF THE TEXT.

The section of Dr. Flood's Reply which he marks "2" is as follows:

The Irish origin of the words of "Anacreon" is evident from even a cursory examination of the phrases: "lend ye", "inspire ye", "the devil a goddess", "risible fiz", etc.

In the *Ave Maria* Dr. Flood had stated, without any attempt at proof or argument, that the words of "Anacreon" are of Irish origin. If this statement were correct, it would be of the highest importance, as I showed in the RECORDS. Dr. Flood now alleges his reason—not for considering the words as *probably* of Irish origin—but for stating, without any qualification or hesitation, that they *are* of Irish origin. It is rather amazing, in view of this certainty on the part of Dr. Flood, that he should appeal *only* to internal evidence; for not only is internal evidence a risky thing to depend wholly upon, but in Dr. Flood's hands it is especially risky; for, as I have abundantly shown in the RECORDS, he

is quite unfitted to deal with the delicate and notably inconclusive "higher criticism" of internal evidence.

But now let us tackle this internal evidence adduced by Dr. Flood. From a poem of 48 very long lines he extracts four instances, and follows them with an "etc." This "etc." would, so far as I can see, include but one other illustration, namely, the phrase "instruct ye". Of the five illustrations we thus have before us, three are in precisely the same category: "Lend ye", "inspire ye", and "instruct ye". The three illustrations are, therefore, logically but one. What is so peculiarly "Irish" in them as to lead a critic of internal evidence to award a whole poem in which they occur to Ireland? Was John Milton an Irishman? But he writes: "They have, like your good sumpters, *laid ye down* their horse load of citations and fathers at your dore" (*Church Government*, ii). Was Shakespeare Irish? He gives us this: "The more shame *for ye*, holy men I *thought ye*" (*Henry VIII*, Act 3, sc. 1).

The same scene from the same play gives us these further examples: "But how to *make ye* suddenly an answer", "Out *upon ye*", "I *fear ye*", "a woman lost *among ye*", "I will not *wish ye* half my miseries", "I *warn'd ye*", "The burden of my sorrows fall *upon ye*", "woe *upon ye*". Every "ye" here is a plural in the objective case, precisely as every "ye" is in the "Anacreon" song from which Dr. Flood extracts his examples to make it "evident" that the words of "Anacreon" are Irish!

Milton, also, seems to prefer "ye" to "you" as an objective case. But I will quote only one more instance from him: "I *call ye*, and *declare ye* now, returned, Successful beyond hope, to *lead ye* forth," etc. (*Par. Lost*, X. 462).

The next illustration cited by Dr. Flood is: "the devil a goddess". Is this peculiarly Irish? The line in which it occurs will illustrate its use:

"The devil a goddess will stay above stairs"—

meaning, of course, that not one of the goddesses will "stay above stairs" (sc. with Anacreon, in Heaven). But this use of "devil" as an expletive, followed by the indefinite article, is not peculiarly Irish. It occurs, for instance, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Coxcomb*: "The *devil a good word* will she give a servant," and in Digby's *Elvira*: "Why then, for fear, the *devil a bit* for love, I'll tell you, Sir." And there is the well-known couplet from Urquhart:

The devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
The devil was well, the *devil a monk* was he!—

in which there is a play on the word *devil*.

The final illustration given by Dr. Flood is: "risible fiz". Now the word "risible" is not peculiarly Irish, and the value of the illustration must lie in the word "fiz" or "phiz". The words occur in the line of "To Anacreon":

Next Momus got up, with his risible phiz—

that is, Momus got up, with his laughing (or laughable) face, etc. Is "phiz" peculiarly Irish for "face" (or physiognomy)? But we find the word in N. Bailey's translation of the Colloquies of Erasmus: "Why, truly a Body would think so by thy slovenly Dress, lean Carcase, and ghastly *Phyz*." Also, in Garner's *Love at First Sight*: "the phiz-maker." If Dr. Flood desires more English illustration of all of the expressions he considers peculiarly Irish, I will furnish them.

I have taken up all the internal evidence alleged by Dr. Flood as making what he styles "evident", the Irish origin of the words of "To Anacreon". *Quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?*

2. PROOFS THAT O'CAROLAN COMPOSED THE TUNE.

In the *Ave Maria* Dr. Flood had contended for O'Carolan's authorship of the tune, alleging that "Anacreon" had "all the characteristics" of a certain other

melody by O'Carolan. Dr. Flood did not specify even *one* of "all" these characteristics. He now specifies as follows (in his section "4"):

Let me assure Dr. Henry that the general structure and the slightly abnormal range of the melody of "Anacreon" are on all fours with that of "The Princess Royal", "Bumpers, Squire Jones", "Rodney's Glory" and other magnificent compositions of O'Carolan.

Dr. Flood has here broadened considerably his basis of comparison. In the *Ave Maria* he had specified only one of the magnificent compositions, namely, "Bumpers, Squire Jones". Let us, however, pass over this broadening process, and consider his two present proofs: (a) "general structure", and (b) "slightly abnormal range of the melody of 'Anacreon'".

(a) "*General Structure*".

This is exceedingly vague, and means, practically, that any "expert" can take any view he wishes of such a vague thing as "structure"—or, better still, "general structure". So true is this, that a really critical authority like Mr. Sonneck, who is Chief of the Department of Music in the Library of Congress, met Dr. Flood's proof for the Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle" (namely, that "the very structure of this tune is seen to be decidedly Irish, and apart from any other argument intrinsic evidence should point to its Irish origin") by simply saying: "Since the structure of the melody has been claimed with equal enthusiasm as decidedly Hessian, Hungarian, Scotch, English, etc.—indeed, in his letter quoted above, Mr. D. F. Scheurleer called my attention to the similarity of 'Yankee Doodle' with the tunes of the itinerant Savoyards—Mr. Grattan Flood's manifestly sincere assertion cannot be accepted without very careful proof as 'intrinsic evidence'". (See Mr. Sonneck's *Report to Congress*, p. 146).

Really, Dr. Flood must try to show his readers the points of agreement in "general structure". Then his readers will have something definite upon which to work. It is unfortunately necessary to call for this definite argument; for Dr. Flood argues in generalities, and where he is forced to come down to any specific statements (e. g., as to the proofs of the Irish origin of the words) the weakness—nay, the absolute baselessness—of his proofs can be clearly exhibited.

And now, Dr. Flood's large phrase—"all the characteristics"—has dwindled to a single "characteristic", namely, that of "the slightly abnormal range of the melody of 'Anacreon'". This is, at least, slightly definite. But "Oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen!" From "all" the characteristics, he must fall down to this scarcely measurable thing—the melodic range of the two tunes. And this agreement in melodic range is not something startling, withal; for the melodic range is, he tells us, only "slightly abnormal"!

(b) *"Slight Abnormality of Range."*

How shall I tackle this matter of "slight abnormality"? Like Hamlet, I feel that in Dr. Flood's "proofs" I am reading only "words, words, words". But let me place accurately the ranges of the two melodies, and then place, for comparison, the ranges of other old melodies which are not by O'Carolan.

The range of "Anacreon" is a twelfth; of "Bumper", a thirteenth. The two melodies do not agree even in range. But, argues Dr. Flood, both ranges are "slightly abnormal", and he insinuates that this slight abnormality is peculiarly characteristic of O'Carolan's melodies. Is it?

Even if it were—which it is not—what argument can be properly deduced therefrom? Could not an Englishman, familiar with the airs of Dr. Arne, Dibdin, and the "naturalized" Handel, have imitated their "slightly abnormal range" of melody?

All that I have to show is that old melodies not by O'Carolan present us with an equal amount of "slight abnormality." But I make my argument with not a little trepidation; for Dr. Flood will doubtless argue that all the instances I shall bring forward are instances of O'Carolan's melodies masquerading as of English, Scotch, and Welsh origin, for the reason that both their "general structure" and their "slight abnormality" of range prove "beyond the shadow of doubt", that they are "unquestionably" by O'Carolan, etc. However, I must chance this counter-demonstration, and go ahead.

I must first premise that "Anacreon" has a range of a twelfth. Now is it not curious that Dr. Flood should have such a very short memory as already to have forgotten his comparison (which he now declares that he borrowed from Dr. Cummings) of "Anacreon" with the song "Heart of Oak" by the *English* composer, Boyce? One fact about both melodies is that the range of both is just exactly a twelfth! Should, then, the "slight abnormality" of a twelfth be considered peculiar to O'Carolan? Dr. Flood's argument ought to prove that Dr. Boyce wrote the air of "Anacreon"!

But here are some other instances of old English songs ranging up to a twelfth: "Greenwich Park", "Cease your funning", "Peaceful slumbering on the ocean" (from Cobb's opera, *The Pirates*), "Blind Willie singing". And here are some instances of old Scotch songs indulging in a twelfth: "The Lass of Patie's mill", "Lochaber", "My Nanie, O", "Tibbie Towler", "Farewell to Ayr", "Dance to your daddy", "Whare live ye, my bonie lass?", "Coming thro' the craigs of Kyle", "My love she's but a lassie yet", "O this is no my ain lassie", "Awa, whigs, awa!", "The flowers of the forest". To this list should be added old Scotch songs which reach even a thirteenth: "Jock the laird's brother", "The bush above Traquair", "Locherroch

side", "The seventh of November". And here are Welsh songs which reach a twelfth: "The Camp", "The Dawn of Day".

The simple truth is that there is no force of the slightest kind in the comparison of the melodic ranges of "Anacreon" and "Bumper"; for the "slightly abnormal range" is not exclusively characteristic of O'Carolan. The very air ("Shepherds, I have lost my love") which Dr. Flood claims (section "5, c") to be an Irish one printed in 1714 has a range of a twelfth! Also, the tune of Moore's "Oh! could we do with this world of ours", which Dr. Flood claims ("5, d") to have been known in Ireland in the 17th century, has a range of a thirteenth!

Dr. Flood declared that "Anacreon" has "all" the characteristics of "Bumper". When forced to descend to particulars, he cannot give even one which will bear the test of careful scrutiny.

The two most important assertions in the *Ave Maria* were there unsupported by any kind of argument or reference. In his present Reply, Dr. Flood attempts some argument. Under investigation it is found to be absolutely worthless. And now let me go on to his Reply proper, and make my Rejoinder to it.

THE REJOINDER PROPER.

Dr. Flood dislikes the length of my article and very naturally considers ill-founded the trust I modestly expressed that it might not merit Waller's criticism of *Paradise Lost*. Dr. Flood, however, appears to be unconscious of the humor of the situation; for he links himself with Waller, while the world at large appreciates Milton's very, very long poem rather highly.

Dr. Flood affects brevity, but fails to achieve accuracy. He should also reflect that brevity does not necessarily exclude tediousness, as Philostrate takes the trouble to demonstrate to Theseus, in Shakespeare's play:

A play there is, my lord, some ten words long,
Which is as brief as I have known a play;
But by ten words, my lord, it is too long,
Which makes it tedious; for in all the play
There is not one word apt. . . .

The "Reply" of Dr. Flood is similarly tedious; for in it, despite its brevity, *there is not one word apt*. The length of my article permitted me to be accurate, and now gives me the opportunity to be relatively brief in my analysis of the "Reply" to it.

Will my readers kindly remember that Dr. Flood's "Reply" is made to my article in the RECORDS for December, 1913? Wherever he wanders outside of the limits of that article (e. g., where he attacks Mr. Sonneck's *Report to Congress*, or dissents from the opinions of Dr. Cummings, or imports bits of irrelevant information) I am not called upon to follow him, howsoever he may draw the herring across the trail. For Dr. Flood is brief, but not at all concise.

Wherever I refer, in this present "Rejoinder", to the RECORDS, my readers will understand that I refer to my article in the December issue, 1913.

In making my rejoinder, two methods are open to me. First, I might take Dr. Flood's assertions one by one, and patiently dissect and disprove them. This method would inevitably require much space and appear to justify the reproach that I am not brief. A worse result than this would be, however, the entanglement and bewilderment of the reader in the intricacies of dozens of winding alleys and by-paths that would lead him away from the main road into a wilderness, so that finally he could not see the forest for the trees. I suspect that such a result would accord fully with Dr. Flood's hope.

Another method would be to dissect his whole "Reply" and place the fragments under appropriate headings or categories, in order to illustrate the fact that his "Reply"

is a bundle of irrelevancies, reckless assertions, wrong insinuations, false implications, ambiguities, loose argument and loose statement; that Dr. Flood appears never to have learned the true meaning and value of quotation-marks; and, finally, that he is—consciously or unconsciously—adept in misleading a reader by implying things which he is unwilling directly to affirm. This method would also require much space.

Now I will combine these methods in such a way as to satisfy both the hasty and the leisured reader. The hasty reader, who has not sufficient interest in the whole matter to wade through a long, because a detailed, analysis and disproof of a most tangled and inconsequent argument may feel that my illustration of the first method will make unnecessary any further reading; for the italicised headings will also serve to illustrate the second method, and give some idea of Dr. Flood's mental processes. The leisured reader, who may also take interest in the matter at issue, will perhaps be willing to follow me in my further illustrations of the second method.

I. THE SERIATIM METHOD.

My illustration of this method will comprise two of Dr. Flood's points. In order to avoid unfair picking and choosing, I take the first two that present themselves. These are numbered 1 and 2 by Dr. Flood.¹ Any others would answer my purpose; and if Dr. Flood should hereafter desire me to take up any other two (whether consecutive or not is indifferent to me) I shall gladly do so. I suggest that only two points be taken up, in the interests both of the reader and of the magazine; for even two points will require, as I have said, an inevitably large consumption of space where the method followed is that of detailed analysis.

¹ No. 2 I have already considered in the preface to my Rejoinder proper.

SECTION " I ".

I begin, then, with number 1, and shall give every word of it under as appropriate headings as I am able to devise.

(a) *False Suggestion*, (b) *Ambiguity of Statement*.

As regards "expert opinion", I hold by the Irish origin. The opinion with which I am credited, in the quotation from *Church Music*, is that of Dr. W. H. Cummings, and not mine.

The two sentences exhibit, in combination, a looseness of statement which makes a reader hesitate or, worse still, accept a conclusion that is really wrong. The first sentence gives the present view of Dr. Flood, which is also that contributed by him to the *Ave Maria* (6 July, 1912). The second sentence refers to the opinion contributed by him to *Church Music* (September, 1909), which is directly opposed to his present opinion. Dr. Flood declares the 1909 opinion "not mine" (that is, not Dr. Flood's). The reader will have observed that Dr. Flood skilfully uses the *present* tense: "The opinion . . . is . . . not mine." Of course, it is not his *now*. Does he then mean to declare openly that it was not his in 1909? No, he will not declare this openly; but he is apparently willing that the reader should so understand him, for the implication of the combined sentences is that Dr. Flood did not, in 1909, hold the opinion which he now rejects. I will show further on that he really did, in 1909, hold the opinion which he now rejects. The two sentences are therefore misleading, as they appear to imply what is the very reverse of the truth.

There is also ambiguity in the second sentence; for it speaks of the "quotation" (singular), whereas there are *two* quotations from *Church Music*, which appear on the same page (p. 296) of the RECORDS, and which are separated from each other by only six lines of text. Both quotations are in the form of separate paragraphs, and the

smaller type in which they are printed causes them to stand out boldly from the page. To which of these quotations does Dr. Flood now refer? He writes in such a loose fashion as to make one almost despair of answering him intelligently or intelligibly; for both extracts from *Church Music* affirm a conviction that John Stafford Smith composed the air. Let me repeat them here. The first extract is:

In June, 1904, . . . Dr. Cummings, in his lecture on "Old English Songs" . . . proved conclusively that Smith was the composer. . . .

These are the words of Dr. Flood in *Church Music* in 1909. In them he declares explicitly his conviction that Dr. Cummings had proved conclusively that Smith was the composer. Does Dr. Flood wish us to understand now that when he wrote the above words he really did not mean to express his own view, but was merely rehearsing Dr. Cummings' opinion that Dr. Cummings had proved conclusively the authorship of Smith?

The second of the extracts from *Church Music* is as follows:

Smith was in his 21st year when he composed the music in 1770-1. . . . The most decisive proof of the fact that the tune was composed by Smith is that he includes it in his *Fifth Collection of Canzonets, Catches, etc.*, in 1781.

It is obvious that both of these extracts affirm the same view, namely, that Smith composed the air. This second extract is from Dr. Flood's (1909) article entitled *Notes on the Origin of "To Anacreon in Heaven"*. Does he now wish us to understand that the whole article, or the portion given in the extract, was a quotation from some letter written to him by Dr. Cummings?

Now the first extract is taken from a sort of preface Dr. Flood wrote to his article, and both the prefatory matter and the article itself appeared in *Church Music*, September, 1909 (pp. 281-282).

That Dr. Flood certainly believed Smith to be the composer when, in 1909, Dr. Flood sent his "Notes" to *Church Music*, is evident from the following statement of fact:

The May issue, 1909, of *Church Music*, quoted from the Philadelphia *North American* (14 Feb.) a statement of a musician that he had discovered, in the British Museum, the Dublin copy of "Anacreon", as also Smith's *Fifth Book* (giving the Anacreontic Song and with it printing the phrase "harmonized by the author"—the musician concluding, from this phrase, that Smith was the *composer* of the tune). Thereupon Dr. Flood wrote to *Church Music* to say that the "announcement is somewhat belated. It is now six years since I examined the Dublin printed copy of the original song 'To Anacreon in Heaven', and I also examined the copy containing the *information that the music was composed*² *by John Stafford Smith* [italics mine]. . . . In January, 1908, I was asked . . . to write some notes . . . on the original air to which the Anacreontic ode was sung . . . I herewith subjoin *my notes* [italics mine] on 'To Anacreon in Heaven', as doubtless they will prove of interest to many readers of *Church Music*. It is worthy of note that while 'Yankee Doodle' is of Irish origin, *the 'Star-Spangled Banner' had its provenance in England*" [italics mine].

All this makes it clear beyond the possibility of evasion that, in 1909, Dr. Flood did believe the air to be English, and to be Smith's composition. Now all this was by way of

² We have here the clearest possible evidence that, in 1909, Dr. Flood interpreted "author"—in the phrase "harmonized by the author"—in the sense of "composer", and that Dr. Flood therefore believed Smith to be the *composer* of the tune!

preface. Next followed his *Notes on the 'Origin* etc., which—as I have shown in the above extract—he styled “my notes”, and in which he argues strenuously for Simth's authorship of the tune.

What, then, does he mean by now saying: “The opinion with which I am credited, in the quotation from *Church Music*, is that of Dr. W. H. Cummings, and not mine”? Does he mean that, both in his preface and in his article entitled *Notes on the Origin* etc., he was relying wholly on the opinion of Dr. Cummings? that he was merely reporting it? On the contrary, he says that he himself “examined the copy containing the information that the music was *composed* [not ‘arranged’] by John Stafford Smith.”

(c) *Ambiguity*, (d) *False Implication*, (e) *Irrelevance*.

The absence of quotation marks leads to a wrong inference, as I quoted the words of my friend, taken from a letter. And, let me add, Dr. Cummings was at fault.

A reader of these two sentences might easily infer that there was a fault somewhere—either in the printing of Dr. Flood's article in *Church Music*, or in my own handling of the extract from *Church Music*; and that the fault took the form of an omission of quotation-marks. The fact is that Dr. Flood himself placed no quotation-marks, and gave no other intimation that he was quoting; and no reader could suppose that he was quoting. Indeed, Dr. Flood himself explicitly declared, in his article in *Church Music*, that he was the author of the “Notes” from which the extract was made, for he wrote of them as “my notes on ‘To Anacreon in Heaven’” (See *Church Music*, p. 281).

“And, let me add, Dr. Cummings was at fault”, says Dr. Flood. Here is a false implication; for any reader would suppose that Dr. Flood simply reported the opinion of some other person, without sharing it. The extracts from *Church Music* in the RECORDS (p. 296), which I have re-

printed here (see above) show, beyond the possibility of evasion, that Dr. Flood *did* share the opinion which he now implies that he was merely reporting.

But here, also, is an irrelevance; for the truth or falsity of Dr. Cummings' opinion has nothing whatever to do with the matter now in hand. We are dealing exclusively with the opinion expressed by Dr. Flood in the *Ave Maria* in 1912, which flatly contradicted the opinion expressed by him in *Church Music* in 1909.

(f) *False Insinuation*, (g) *Further Irrelevance*.

It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Sonneck in his *Report* (p. 20) also endeavors to discredit my reference to Dr. Cummings, but I have the letter before me as I write.

Will the reader be good enough to read the above-quoted sentence again, and note particularly the skilful introduction of the word "also"? This word conveys an insinuation that in the RECORDS I had endeavored to discredit a supposed "reference" to Dr. Cummings in connection with what Dr. Flood styles "the quotation" from *Church Music* (sc. in the RECORDS, p. 296). What is Dr. Flood now talking about? I can conceive of no other "reference" in this connection than that contained in the first extract—or quotation—from *Church Music*:

In June, 1904, . . . Dr. Cummings, in his lecture on "Old English Songs" . . . proved conclusively that Smith was the composer. . . .

In these words, Dr. Flood makes reference to Dr. Cummings, and to a *lecture* (not to a *letter*) by Dr. Cummings, and to conclusive proofs given in that lecture. Dr. Flood now insinuates that he had referred the conviction that the proofs were conclusive, to Dr. Cummings, and writes now that he has the *letter* (an entirely new thing, unmentioned

by Dr. Flood in his article in *Church Music*, or in his preface to that article) of Dr. Cummings lying before him as he writes.

"Oh, what a tangled web we weave
When first we practice to deceive!"

Everything would have been clear from the start, if only Dr. Flood had been willing to admit that his apparently learned information concerning the tune was in reality due to Dr. Cummings. Dr. Flood would not do this, but now insinuates that any reader ought to have known that the words "proved conclusively" were not an expression of Dr. Flood's, but were merely Dr. Cummings' own view as to the cogency of Dr. Cummings' own arguments!

Dr. Flood seems to associate me with Mr. Sonneck in a conspiracy "to discredit" Dr. Flood's "reference to Dr. Cummings". Perhaps Dr. Flood wishes his readers to think that he suspects a conspiracy. It is nevertheless certain that he has no such sinister suspicion; for no one knows better than himself that he nowhere referred to Dr. Cummings as his authority for his various statements.

Dr. Flood is using the word "reference" equivocally. He means an entirely different thing now from the "reference" given above in the extract from *Church Music*. For he gives the page in Mr. Sonneck's *Report* (p. 20), where a paragraph is quoted from the "Notes" he had sent to Mr. Sonneck. The reader will at once perceive that Dr. Flood is here treating of an entirely different matter from the question of "proved conclusively". Indeed, he here assumes the rôle of one who discredits the item of information given to him by Dr. Cummings! Here is the paragraph of Dr. Flood's as given in the *Report* (p. 20):

The words and music of "To Anacreon in Heaven" were published by Longman and Broderip in 1779-1780, and were reprinted by Anne Lee of Dublin (? 1780) in

1781. Dr. Cummings says that he saw a copy printed by Henry Fought—at least it is made up with single sheets printed by Fought—but this is scarcely likely, as Fought did not print after 1770, and the song and music were not in existence till 1770-71.

The reference made here to Dr. Cummings is to the effect that Dr. Cummings "says" something which Dr. Flood disputes! Again, the word "says" does not imply a letter from Dr. Cummings to Dr. Flood; for "says" might equally refer to the "lecture" by Dr. Cummings, or to a book by him, or to a conversation between him and Dr. Flood. Mr. Sonneck interprets "says" as meaning probably a conversation; for he thus writes: "Apparently Mr. Grattan Flood reported part of a conversation with the distinguished English scholar . . .". Why is Dr. Flood so secretive? If what he had to communicate to Mr. Sonneck or to *Church Music* was contained in a *letter* sent to Dr. Flood by Dr. Cummings, why could not Dr. Flood honestly admit the fact, and not strut around in borrowed plumage? At all events, Dr. Flood uses the word "reference" equivocally; for when he is applying the "discredit" business to me, he means a very different subject-matter from that which he speaks of when applying the discrediting to Mr. Sonneck.

Finally, the meaning of all of Dr. Flood's talk about an endeavor to discredit his "reference" is simply this: Dr. Flood wishes his readers to infer that he had made a "reference" to Dr. Cummings as authority for Dr. Flood's statements and arguments for Smith's authorship of the tune. The fact is, however, that Dr. Flood made no such "reference".

(h) *Clouding the Issue.*

Mr. Sonneck also without reservation (p. 27) quotes the air as by John Stafford Smith.

In his *Report* (p. 20) Mr. Sonneck exhibits some doubt as to a sheet song mentioned by Dr. Cummings, and as to its bearing Smith's name as composer of the tune. Doubt number one. Again (p. 22) he points out that in Stewart's Vocal Magazine of 1797, the names of composers of many tunes are given in a separate index, but that Smith's name is not given for "Anacreon". Doubt number two. He nevertheless admits that Smith's phrase "harmonized by the author" renders it probable that Smith refers to himself as the composer of the music (p. 23). In all these cases, Mr. Sonneck is dealing with the question of the ascription of the tune. But even when he leaves this question, in order to consider that of the different forms of the melody, he takes new occasion to exhibit his lack of concurrence in the common ascription to Smith. For he writes:

Probably Smith composed it, *if he really did compose the tune*, as a song for one voice. . . . Of course, *if the supposed 1771 sheet song was a sheet song for one voice, and if it contained Smith's name as composer, then all doubt as to the original form and to the composer vanishes.*

Would Dr. Flood, the ardent lover of brevity, require Mr. Sonneck to repeat all those expressions (the ones I have italicised) of hesitancy every time he mentions Smith's name? Surely Dr. Flood is aware of the canon that a writer's subsequent declarations are to be read in the light of his previous ones.

I have examined every sentence of Dr. Flood's section 1 and have discovered more errors than there are sentences. Although I have written as concisely as the interests of accuracy would permit, I have consumed much space. In strict justice, one further step is necessary. Having examined the section 1 *per partes*, I must finally consider it as a whole.

As a whole, section "1" is meant to convey to the reader that Dr. Flood did not, when he contributed his article to *Church Music* in 1909, believe that Smith composed the tune. As in the *Ave Maria* Dr. Flood tried to saddle Mr. Sonneck with the burden of an opinion which Dr. Flood held in 1909 but rejected in 1912, so now, in section "1", he tries to relieve himself of the 1909 opinion by fathering it on Dr. Cummings.

In section "1", therefore, Dr. Flood constructs for himself a dilemma, either of whose horns must be rather uncomfortable for him to rest upon. For either he relied on Dr. Cummings for the conviction of conclusive proof of Smith's authorship of the tune, or he relied on his own expert powers for that conviction. If he selects the former horn of the dilemma, Dr. Flood confesses that he himself is simply one of those "copyists" whom he sneers at in the *Ave Maria* and in his present "Reply" (section 5, b). If he selects the latter horn of the dilemma, he admits that which I charged him with (RECORDS, pp. 296-299), namely, declaring a certainty one day and flatly contradicting that certainty another day; for in 1909 he considered that Dr. Cummings had "proved conclusively" that Smith composed the tune, whereas in 1912 he considered that Mr. Blake had produced "indisputable evidence" that Smith did not compose the tune.

In making my detailed examination of only two (and part of a third) sections of Dr. Flood's "Reply", I have used but one-tenth of his pages, and have nevertheless consumed much space, and have unavoidably done so. But I think I have given the hasty reader such a satisfactory view of the psychology of Dr. Flood and of the argumentative value of anything he writes, as to render unnecessary any further detailed investigation.

My next business is to give some illustrations which may interest the leisured reader. This I shall do under the heading:

II. THE CATEGORICAL METHOD.

I have already illustrated many ineptitudes of Dr. Flood—his irrelevancy, his false insinuation and implication, his looseness of statement, his ambiguity. Let me now run through his other points or heads of argument, and pick out other illustrations of ineptitude. I shall indicate at the end of each extract the point or section whence I take it.

I. QUOTATION.

- (a) My quotation from Dr. Cummings refers to the air being reminiscent of Dr. Boyce. (3)
- (b) I may also add that the earliest title of the song "Bumpers, Squire Jones," was as here given, not "Bumpers Esquire Jones", as Dr. Henry gives it. (4)
- (c) I hope that Dr. Henry will be more cautious in future in quoting at second-hand from either Chappell or Hullah. . . . (5)
- (d) Dr. Henry, who assures his readers that he makes his statements "with equal confidence—and from an equally acceptable source—with those of Dr. Flood". (5)

This is a pretty good bunch of extracts illustrating Dr. Flood's idea of quotation.

As to (a), Dr. Flood placed no marks of quotation to indicate that he was quoting. Why not? Was it by accident or by design?

As to (b), I nowhere gave the title as "Bumpers Esquire Jones". In a footnote to the RECORDS, page 304, I said that O'Neill gives it thus in his *Irish Folk Music*. I myself always gave the title either as "Bumper, 'Squire Jones" or in the condensed form of "Bumper". Is it impossible for Dr. Flood to quote accurately?

As to (c): One needs not to be cautious in quoting at second-hand, if only he is honest enough to make it clear that he is so quoting. I made it clear by most careful placing of quotation-marks (RECORDS, pp. 310, 311) that I

was quoting always from Hullah, even when Hullah was himself quoting from Chappell. I did not pretend to be quoting at any time directly from Chappell. Would that Dr. Flood had been equally honest in his many "quotations" from that mysterious letter from Dr. Cummings! But Dr. Flood's insinuation that I also quoted at second-hand from Hullah is simply false. I suspect that the learned Doctor never has seen Hullah's volume; and I should be also fully justified in a suspicion, based on Dr. Flood's "quotations", that Dr. Flood simply mirrors, in his insinuation, the devious windings of his own mind and the practices he himself indulges in.

As to (d), we are by this time quite ready to understand that, when Dr. Flood really quotes, he avoids giving the requisite quotation-marks; and that, *e converso*, when he does place quotation-marks, he garbles in one way or another. Now I did not assure my readers (RECORDS, p. 311) that I made the statements ascribing certain "Irish" tunes to English authors "with equal confidence" etc. I gave those statements or ascriptions professedly from Hullah, and declared that I did not purpose to enter into the correctness of the ascriptions. I then immediately added: "Whether the statements be objectively correct or not, they are made with equal confidence [sc. by Hullah, as the context shows]—and from an equally acceptable source—with those of Dr. Flood."

Before leaving the subject of "Quotation", let me add the following illustrations (taken from the subsequent numeration, 1-4, at the end of Dr. Flood's article).

- (e) Dr. Henry quotes Mr. Sonneck's *Report* for the publication of the song, but he omits the Rhames copy of *circa 1778*, and he omits . . . [two others]

My list (RECORDS, p. 315) was, as I stated explicitly, "abbreviated from Sonneck's *Report*". Dr. Flood—who

appears to have no idea of the requirements of fidelity in quoting others—declares that I omit the Rhames copy, etc. The fact is that I did not omit anything. The *Report*, whose list I professedly abbreviated, does not mention the Rhames copy, etc. How then could I omit what was not there? Had I inserted items not found in Mr. Sonneck's list, I should have been guilty of the literary sin so often committed by Dr. Flood—the sin, namely, of inaccurate quotation.

- (f) Smith Arranged the Air as a Glee. Yes, he arranged it, and that is about all he did with it. . . .
- (g) "Smith never claimed the tune as his." He did not, for the best of reasons.

A reader of my article must have noticed (RECORDS, p. 313) that the headings of the "Negative Argument" were based, not on my own opinions, but on Dr. Flood's article in the *Ave Maria*. It was not I who said that Smith had arranged the air as a glee. Dr. Flood had said that, and had included the word "merely". But Dr. Flood, slavishly following the argument of Mr. Blake, put the word *glee* in quotation marks ("glee"), as though Smith himself had so characterized his arrangement of the tune. I pointed out that Smith had *not* styled his work a "glee", as any reader of Dr. Flood's would have been misled into supposing. I wonder if Dr. Flood will ever learn the proper use of quotation-marks.

Again, my heading was not: "Smith never claimed the tune as his". My heading was: Smith "Never Claimed the Tune as His" (RECORDS, p. 320)—the marks of quotation indicating clearly that I was not expressing my own opinion. Dr. Flood's present language [given in (f) and (g)] would almost make an Aristotle suppose that I was fathering those headings.

Finally, the capital sin of Dr. Flood's in the matter of quotation is the one which I commented upon in the RECORDS (p. 297), and I beg to refer my readers to my comment thereon.

2. MISREPRESENTATION.

This heading may not be wholly accurate or wholly adequate, for I wish to include such things as evasion, *suggestio falsi*, etc. I will place a numeral after each extract in order to indicate the section of Dr. Flood's "Reply" from which it is taken.

But my first illustration is from the second paragraph of the "Reply":

1. To begin with, it is gratifying that Dr. Henry will not deny an Irish origin to the tune. Even this is a concession. . . .

This is an obvious misrepresentation of my clearly-expressed attitude. It was no "concession" for me to say that the tune might be of Irish origin, for "concession" implies that I desired to prove the opposite. I simply made it clear that Dr. Flood had failed in *his* arguments to prove a contention "which otherwise might enlist our hearty support" (RECORDS, p. 292). Again (RECORDS, p. 312) I wrote: "We should rejoice to know that the tune of 'The Star-Spangled Banner' was of Irish origin. Why, then, have we taken the trouble to investigate the value of the reasoning? Why not accept as a fact what would naturally please us so much?" And then I give the reasons for my investigation, one of which was in effect, that I did not wish Catholics here to be made ridiculous by trumpeting abroad the illogically reached conclusions of Dr. Flood and thus committing themselves to his logic. I am comforted to think that I was fairly successful. I think I love that "land of song" and "island of saints and scholars"

to which Dr. Flood refers in his "Reply", quite as dearly as does Dr. Flood; but I should hate to capitalize my love for it in any earthly coin.

2. My own opinion is that the air is by O'Carolan, and I leave it to experts to study O'Carolan's many compositions in order to corroborate my opinion. (3)

This is quite an evasion of the point at issue. For in his *Ave Maria* article, Dr. Flood adduced but one argument for his ascription of the tune to O'Carolan, and this argument was that the tune of "Anacreon" "has all the characteristics" of "Bumpers, Squire Jones". Did Dr. Flood thereupon commit the decision as to the merits of this argument to the "experts" he now speaks of? No, he there declared that his assertion could "easily be tested by a comparison" etc. He did not then speak of O'Carolan's "many compositions", either. But I made it easy for any one to compare the two tunes, and naturally Dr. Flood does not thank me for the trouble I took.

3. It is distinctly uncritical to compare "Anacreon" and "Bumpers, Squire Jones" bar for bar, for even a tyro at tuneology (to coin a word) would be hopelessly muddled in endeavoring to trace variants. . . . Let me assure Dr. Henry that the general structure and the slightly abnormal range of the melody of "Anacreon" are on all fours with that of . . . and other magnificent compositions of O'Carolan. (4)

One would suppose, from this excoriation of my uncritical procedure, that I had rested my demonstration on a test which even a tyro at "tuneology" (to quote the barbarous coining of Dr. Flood) would have rejected. What I really did (RECORDS, pp. 299-308) was, first, to exhibit in all its nakedness the learned foolishness of the argument from "internal evidence" as used by Dr. Flood. I next directly made the comparison desired by Dr. Flood.

To illustrate the significant facts that "Bumper" differed characteristically from "Anacreon" in (a) length, (b) rhythm, (c) phrasing, (d) beginning, (e) ending, (f) melodic progression, (g) spirit—to illustrate these characteristic differences between the melodies, I printed both melodies side by side, and I took the trouble to equalize them in key and—so far as possible—in time-measure, in order not to place any obstacle whatever in the way of the fairest comparison. But it did not suit Dr. Flood's grandiose "expert" methods to descend to any particulars. He simply had hoped that no one would take the trouble to make the comparison; and thenceforward he could triumphantly declare that he had "proved" his contention *nemine contradicente*. No, my dear Doctor, that kind of thing will not "work" any more. Even now you try to palm off on us that exceedingly vague thing which you style "structure", and which you also urged to demonstrate the Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle".

But at length, in his "Reply", Dr. Flood *does* allege *two* things in proof of his statement in the *Ave Maria* that the tune of "Anacreon" has "all" the characteristics of that of "Bumper." What are now his two proofs? I have already discussed them in the prefatory matter to my Rejoinder, and need not do more than refer to them here.

When an "expert" in "tuneology" is forced into a corner and has to fight for his oracular assertions, he may find that his own weapons are boomerangs; and we feel like repeating Cicero's indignant *Quousque tandem!*

4. But I do not shirk the six instances quoted by Dr. Henry. (5)

The word "shirk" suggests that I had challenged Dr. Flood—either explicitly or implicitly—to take up the six instances. The fact is that I had explicitly tried to avoid having him do so, for I could pretty clearly foresee into

what wildernesses and quagmires a discussion would inevitably lead, when "experts" in "tuneology" must be called upon, with their arguments from "the general structure", "internal evidence", etc., such as Dr. Flood loves to use. What I did was simply to accept, without questioning, the downright assertions of Dr. Flood (when he was "proving" the Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle"—see RECORDS, p. 309), and to place over against those assertions the "other side"—that is, the assertions of Chappell and Hullah (p. 310). Having done this, I then said: "Into the correctness of the above ascriptions of tunes it is not really necessary to enter here. Whether the statements be objectively correct or not, they are made with equal confidence—and from an equally acceptable source—with those of Dr. Flood." But Dr. Flood simply revels in such discussions, and despite my heroic endeavor to avoid the quagmires, he seized the opportunity offered him by the mere printing of the ascriptions, and pretends (by using the word "shirk") that I had in some way challenged him to deny the ascriptions.

5. It is not my intention to spread myself out, and I shall not occupy even a sixth of the space given to Dr. Henry's article, but I wish to take up his points *seriatim*, and deal briefly with them. (1st paragraph.)

Dr. Flood's method of following my points *seriatim* is to skip over those which he cannot even "reply" to, and to concentrate his energies on those which he thinks himself able to muddle up in some fashion or other. He really does not like brevity, as his long discussion of the "six instances"—which I had done everything possible to avoid having him take up—sufficiently illustrates. He therefore does "spread himself", where he imagines he can do so to advantage. Here are some of the points he failed to refer to in his "Reply":

1. He fails to tell us how he arrived at that wonderfully precise date of 1781 (RECORDS, p. 296 and p. 313) for Smith's Fifth Book. He did not know what the date was, when he wrote his *Church Music* article in 1909, and yet he gave a precise date, without question-mark or qualification of any kind, just as if he knew. The next year (October, 1910), Mr. Blake found the exact date to be 1799. Dr. Flood seized on this laboriously-obtained date and used it (in the *Ave Maria* article of 1912) as a club on the heads of Chappell "and his copyists", and on Mr. Sonneck. These gentlemen had signified clearly that they could only guess at the date; they did not, like Dr. Flood, pretend to an exact knowledge, for at that time nobody knew. Dr. Flood must have an amazing facility at forgetting his own previous acts; for how else can we figure it out, that he should be willing to pretend to a knowledge he did not have concerning the date, and then, when all the world at length knew the exact date, he should so shamelessly attack the men who had clearly stated that they did not know the date (for, indeed, nobody knew the date).

2. He passes over the "horrible example" I furnished (RECORDS, p. 297) of Dr. Flood's garbling in his quotation of "probably" from Mr. Sonneck's *Report*.

3. He passes over the attack (RECORDS, p. 298) he had made on Mr. Sonneck ("It is amazing how one writer blindly copies another")—for indeed the plea he now makes for his blunders (namely, that he himself merely copied from Dr. Cummings) would turn his whole "Reply" into a screaming farce.

4. He passes over (RECORDS, p. 299) my request for evidence to substantiate his contention that the words of the song "evidently emanated from Ireland about the year 1765".

5. He passes over every one of my *seven* illustrations of discrepant characteristics (summarized on p. 308 of the

RECORDS) except the one which deals with melodic progressions; and when he takes this one, it is not for the purpose of really considering it and answering it—for he does not even now instance any bars which are similar—but for the purpose of implying to his readers that I had rested my argument on that one characteristic, and that tyros in “tuneology” would be muddled by it.

6. He passes over my demonstration (RECORDS, p. 313) that he had placed himself amongst the “copyists” whom he so much ridiculed, when he had fixed a date eighteen years in advance of the true date of copyright for Smith's volume.

7. He passes over my exhibit that he had improperly placed *glee* in quotation-marks (RECORDS, pp. 319-20).

He passes over the whole question of “indisputable evidence” which he had claimed for Mr. Blake's researches (RECORDS, p. 320).

9. He passes over—with something like a sneer—the admirable argument in Mr. Sonneck's letter concerning the certificate of copyright (RECORDS, pp. 321-323).

10. He passes over the various enlightening illustrations furnished by Fr. Walworth's hymn (RECORDS, pp. 323-325).

11. He passes over my argument concerning Smith's inability to urge any *legal* claim outside of Great Britain (RECORDS, p. 327).

12. He passes over the argument based on Arnold's omission of the song from his collection of Anacreontic songs (RECORDS, p. 328).

13. He passes over my whole argument based on the English copyright law in force at the time Smith entered copyright (RECORDS, pp. 328-329).

14. He passes over—but I do not wonder at this—the wholly comic chapter on Smith's “audacity” (RECORDS, pp. 329-333).

Now it is not hard to be brief when one omits the bulk of a paper to which he is offering a "Reply". The fact is that Dr. Flood is very unnecessarily long-winded in his "Reply" to the few points he does take up for consideration. And he introduces a number of irrelevancies that take up valuable space. Here are some occurring in one paragraph ("4"):

6. Dr. Henry has fallen into a trap by following Captain O'Neill's *Irish Folk Music* when he dates Burke Thumoth's Collection as 1720, and styles it the "first collection of Irish Airs". Both statements are wrong. . . . Nor does Dr. Henry appear to be aware that the tune was reprinted in O'Carolan's Collection in 1747, and reprinted by John Lee in January, 1779—not 1780.

Dr. Flood himself has fallen into a trap by assuming that I had here followed O'Neill, who does *not* give the date as 1720 for Thumoth's Collection, but instead gives the date of 1742 for Thumoth's *Twelve Scotch and Twelve Irish Airs* etc., and 1745 for his *Twelve English and Twelve Irish Airs*, and gives these same dates on two different pages—pp. 189, 237—and furthermore says that he possesses both volumes. Dr. Flood gives the date of 1743. I do not pretend to know whether he or O'Neill is correct. But Dr. Flood's willingness absolutely to date (without question-mark or qualification of any kind) Smith's *Fifth Book* as 1781, without knowing at all whether that date was even approximately correct, makes me lean to the dates given by Captain O'Neill. It is an irrelevancy even to mention the date in a brief "Reply" that omits so many prominent points of an opposite argument. But what follows in the extract given above is even less relevant, and is intended merely to exhibit Dr. Flood's bibliographical learning. But it was not I who gave the date of 1780, which Dr. Flood particularly assures us should be one year earlier. It was

O'Neill who gave that date, and I formally credited it to him (in the footnote to page 304 of the RECORDS). And whether O'Neill or Dr. Flood is correct, I shall not pretend to judge—although under the circumstances I again feel it safer to rely upon O'Neill.

I end with Dr. Flood's closing paragraph, which contains this:

7. If Dr. Henry, or any one else, can substantiate Ralph Tomlinson's claim as author [of the words] then I apologise. Mr. Warrington merely relies on Dr. Cummings, but Dr. Cummings told me a different story, and so the matter rests.

But in Dr. Flood's article in *Church Music* (1909) he wrote:

However, it is now tolerably certain that the song was written by Ralph Tomlinson in 1770 or 1771, as the charter-song of the Anacreontic Society. . . .

There is no doubt as to the fact that Ralph Tomlinson wrote the song in the winter of 1770.

The reader may think it strange to find Dr. Flood hesitating, in the first of these two sentences, as to the year—1770 or 1771; and then, in the second sentence, flatly asserting the date as "the winter of 1770", without any "tolerably certain" about it. The two sentences are separated, in the article in *Church Music*, by only one intervening sentence! However, it is clear, from both sentences, that in 1909 Dr. Flood was certain of the authorship of Ralph Tomlinson. Just here comes in a great difficulty. Will Dr. Flood say—as he has more than once said, in his "Reply", when wishing to unload his 1909 assertions upon Dr. Cummings—that in so roundly asserting Ralph Tomlinson's authorship, he was simply expressing the opinion of Dr. Cummings? He cannot well do this now, for it ap-

pears (from the last paragraph of his "Reply") that Mr. Warrington's reference to Dr. Cummings as his authority for the authorship of Tomlinson is *not* upheld by Dr. Flood's memory of what Dr. Cummings said to Dr. Flood upon this precise point: "Mr. Warrington merely relies on Dr. Cummings, but Dr. Cummings *told me a different story*", says Dr. Flood (*italics mine*). It must follow from all this that, in 1909, Dr. Flood asserted *on his own responsibility*, that: "There is no doubt as to the fact that Ralph Tomlinson wrote the song in the winter of 1770." And now, in his "Reply", Dr. Flood challenges me, or anybody else, to prove that Ralph Tomlinson wrote the song! Gentle reader, what can you make of the whole beautiful muddle?

L'ENVOI.

Readers who may think my "seriatim" and "categorical" methods somewhat drastic in their application to Dr. Flood's "Reply", should read the "Rejoinder" made by the Rev. Thomas Gogarty to Dr. Flood's "Reply" ("The Dawn of the Reformation") in *The Irish Theological Quarterly* for January, 1914. Fr. Gogarty's Rejoinder is twice as long as Dr. Flood's Reply, but is concise, clear, incisive.

Of course, Dr. Flood, in his first paragraph, pleads that he does not mean to "reply fully", as to do so "would occupy more space than the Editors could be expected to allow me", and hence deals "only with the graver issues, and particularly with the inaccuracies" of Father Gogarty's previous article.

Apropos of this matter of brevity, so much affected by Dr. Flood, let me quote the following from Father Gogarty's Rejoinder (p. 89):

The assertion so carelessly worded in the second last sentence of this paragraph [of Dr. Flood's Reply] is sadden-

ing, because it is so unwarranted. If Dr. Flood had only established this "absolute certainty", if he could have shown his readers that all the nine Bishops of Munster were absent from Clonmel on January 22nd, 1539, he would have performed for Irish Church History the most valuable service of his life. But he forsook a golden opportunity on the specious plea, that the editors could not be expected to afford him the space he would need for such a full reply.

In reading Fr. Gogarty's Rejoinder, I was struck with the wonderful agreement of his strictures with those which I had to make in the December issue, 1913, of the RECORDS. I had there to call attention to Dr. Flood's misquotation, positive assertions without proof or reference, extravagant use of superlative language, impeaching of Smith's veracity, etc. And here, similarly, are points in Dr. Flood's Reply to which Fr. Gogarty has had to call attention ::

- [1] A singular looseness of argument is displayed in one of his proofs . . . (p. 84).
- [2] This is another instance of a careless misuse of authority on the part of Dr. Flood (p. 84).
- [3] Hamilton has led Dr. Flood astray. . . . The learned Doctor would have done well if he had checked his authority before he used it (p. 85).
- [4] It is not sufficient [for Dr. Flood] to impeach the veracity of Robert Ware (p. 85).
- [5] Dr. Flood roundly asserts that Browne's Commission and letter of 1535 have been proved to be downright forgeries. He has strangely omitted to name the writer who has proved them forgeries. He quotes no authority and he gives no reference (p. 86).
- [6] His [Dr. Flood's] language is loose. . . . Besides—the grammatical structure of his sentence is very faulty—I did not overlook, but I did not mention the fact that . . . [because Fr. Gogarty] was dealing

with the reign of Henry VIII., and not with his predecessors, and no mention of the fact was called for (p. 87).

- [7] I have held that it [a certain story or relation] is not to be cavalierly rejected "as a barefaced lie". I wrote this because I had read an article by Dr. Flood, in which he used these words in describing this story. I arrayed a long number of facts to support my contention, and Dr. Flood has not been able to impugn a single one of them. . . . He proceeds, and his mistaken judgment betrays him into assertions for which he has not the slightest grounds. He writes with an astonishing audacity "that there is ample evidence to prove" . . . He fails to put his ample evidence on record, and he fails even to indicate the source or sources from which it may be drawn. If he has evidence that . . . , he knows more about these prelates than any other living writer, and he might have taken his readers into his confidence, and quoted his authorities, or given his references, but he has withheld them. Dr. Flood asserts with his usual force that . . . was *not* at Clonmel, but again he can put forward no argument nor can he quote an authority for his statement. All these statements rest upon the *ipse dixit* of Dr. Flood (p. 88).
- [8] I confess that I cannot appreciate the relevancy of a single statement made by Dr. Flood in paragraph 5.
- [9] . . . the point upon which I did lay stress was that three of these four Bishops . . . took oaths that were satisfactory to Henry as claiming the Supreme Headship of the Irish Church. Dr. Flood rather lightly dismisses these oaths and states that the expressions of fidelity in question "were merely expressions of loyalty, and *certainly* did not imply supremacy." I shall ask my readers to mark the word *certainly* while they note the following fact: . . . the text of the oath sent over by Henry to be taken by the Irish Bishops is preserved. . . . The following extracts

will show whether or not the oath was a mere expression of loyalty, and whether or not it implied an acknowledgment of Henry's spiritual supremacy:

"You shall swear that you bear faith, truth, and obedience, *all only to God, to the King's Majesty, your Sovereign Lord, Supreme Head on Earth under God of the Church of England and Ireland* during his life. . . . And you shall now swear and protest that you shall utterly forsake, forego, and renounce all manner title, claim or interest, that in maintaining the bishop of Rome's unlawful, usurped power and authority you might have, pretend or allege in any wise to the said bishopric of N——, by any manner, decrees, canons, bulls, or election, but acknowledge and confess to have, and to hold the same entirely, *as well the spiritualities as the temporalities* thereof, only of the King's Majesty and Crown royal of this realm *immediately under Christ, Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland,*" etc., etc. (pp. 89, 90).

I have slightly omitted from this oath, but have left in sufficiently explicit testimony as to the nature of the oath which, Dr. Flood declared, "certainly did not imply supremacy".

A much larger question than the proper ascription of the air of our national song appears to have emerged from the dust of our discussion. The question is really one of Dr. Flood's psychics or mental processes.

H. T. HENRY.

FINAL ANSWER TO DR. HENRY'S REJOINDER. *

Let me begin my answer by referring to the bad taste of Dr. Henry in dragging in a controversy which has recently been appearing in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* (January, 1914). Of course, at the time of writing, Dr. Henry had not seen my Reply to Father Gogarty's "Rejoinder", which is in the April issue, and he might fairly have suspended his judgment.¹ However, I am consoled by the fact that some of the highest dignitaries in Ireland have written to me congratulating me on my defence of the Irish Bishops at a critical period of Ireland's history, and giving me their unstinted praise for the demolition of the specious argument put forth by Fr. Gogarty. My "impeachment of the veracity" (!) of Robert Ware is unequivocal, and it is as certain as day is

* [Dr. Flood's Final Answer includes misquotations, misstatements of fact, and entirely new matter for discussion. It therefore goes beyond the just limits of a Final Answer, and I take the liberty of pointing out these excesses and of commenting briefly in footnotes.—H. T. HENRY.]

¹ [Dr. Flood should have added that the *Quarterly* printed his Reply and followed it with Fr. Gogarty's Rejoinder, and gave no intimation whatever that the discussion was to be resumed three months later. My action is justified by the April *Quarterly*, which I have now seen, and which contains Dr. Flood's attempted answer in the form only of a *postscript* (spontaneously offered by Dr. Flood) to a second article continuing the attack on Fr. Gogarty. Moreover, in his postscript reply, Dr. Flood does not meet the itemized arraignment I quoted from Dr. Gogarty's Rejoinder, but reasserts two of his contentions, proves neither—and leaves the other items of the indictment to the vague future ("At another time I purpose to answer fully" is Dr. Flood's triumphant refutation).—H.]

day that the *sole* authority on which Fr. Gogarty relied for the earlier mission of Browne to Ireland is the forged document of the mendacious Ware, the unworthy son of Ware the eminent historian. I pass over Dr. Henry's epithets regarding "Dr. Flood's misquotation, positive assertions without proof, extravagant use of superlative language," etc. Words, idle words. Like Father Gogarty, Dr. Henry is still a young man, and, as Cardinal Newman once wittily quoted, "even the youngest among us is liable to mistakes." So much for "L'Envoi."

I think it more logical, for I, too, read a philosophy course (at Mount Melleray and All Hallows), to take up Dr. Henry's points *seriatim*.

1. Internal evidence shows² the Irish provenance of the words of "Anacreon". This statement I hold by. I really do not require stale extracts from Milton, or Beaumont and Fletcher, or Digby, or Bailey. They are quite familiar to me. I can merely echo *Quousque tandem*, etc.

2. On the question of the structure of a tune I fancy I know quite as much as Mr. Sonneck or even Dr. Henry, and I feel satisfied that O'Carolan composed the air. Just as a trained architect can judge the style of a building, so also a trained musician can place the period at least of a composition; it is worse than puerile to conjecture that O'Carolan might have imitated the style of Boyce or Arne.³ I was not aware that "Peaceful slumbering on the ocean" was an "Old English Song". It was really composed by Stephen Storan, the son of an

² [If Dr. Flood has any further "internal evidence", why does he not gratify our eyes by a sight of it? My "stale extracts" quite demolished what he had thus far offered, and in a manner so complete as not to be devoid of a humorous feature (see present number of the RECORDS, pp. 105-107).—H.]

³ [A misstatement of fact. I nowhere made the conjecture mentioned by Dr. Flood.—H.]

Italian fiddler. As to "Shepherds, I have lost my love," it was composed by O'Carolan.

3. Dr. Henry with a childlike innocence pretends not to understand plain English. Surely he must be aware that in my article contributed to *Church Music* when I stated that I had examined the copy on which was vouchsafed the information giving Smith as "composer" or "author"—it matters little—I meant simply what was printed on the title page,⁴ and the inference merely amounted to the fact that Smith composed or arranged the "setting" of a glee.

4. Dr. Henry would fain rejoice to know that the tune was of Irish origin, and he says he loves the land of song. This statement of his reminds me of Sheridan's oft-quoted song: "'Twas all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me downstairs?"⁵

5. When Dr. Henry can spare time he might usefully employ it in studying O'Carolan's compositions, of which there are 28 in such an accessible work as Moore's *Irish Melodies*.⁶ This would be more profitable than to spread

⁴[A sort of new idea introduced by Dr. Flood: "the information giving Smith as 'composer' or 'author'—it matters little". But Smith's song did not say "composer"; it said "author". And in 1909 Dr. Flood interpreted "author" to mean "composer", and described his interpretation as the "information" given by Smith. Dr. Flood therefore held Smith to be the "composer"—and to-day he denies that Smith was the "composer".—H.]

⁵[By the way, Dr. Flood speaks (No. 1) of "stale extracts"! He really *discusses* no point of our previous argument, but consumes space in personalities, and in irrelevancies such as are found in his two closing paragraphs.—H.]

⁶[It is an intrusion of new matter for Dr. Flood to recommend Moore's *Irish Melodies* for a study of only "28" tunes by O'Carolan. I therefore call his attention to a fuller—and an equally accessible—work, namely, O'Neill's *Music of Ireland*. O'Neill's work was published in 1905—less than ten years ago—and contains 75 tunes by O'Carolan, while Moore's has only "28"! But neither Moore's nor O'Neill's work can be depended upon for correctness in the case of O'Carolan's tunes. I contribute this information freely to Dr. Flood.—H.]

himself out in writing of my methods, which, *as a professor of Christian charity*, he describes as "dishonest", "equivocal", "devious", "evasive",⁷ etc.

6. I leave my logic in the hands of better and more expert authorities than Dr. Henry. At some future date he will doubtless regret his intemperate language.⁸

7. It is too absurd to argue that Smith could not make any legal claim⁹ on his own tune, if, as Dr. Henry assumes, he composed it. Why did he not put forth his claim? Dr. Henry ought really get a handbook on English copyright law. Did Bishop ever copyright his "Home, sweet home"? No, because he did not compose it. He merely mangled the air, just as Smith did.

8. I leave my "bibliographic learning" to scholars. Captain O'Neill can inform Dr. Henry that he based his own data on my bibliography.¹⁰

9. When I stated that Ralph Tomlinson wrote the song of "Anacreon" in 1770 or 1771, I meant the *tinkered* version; because the Irish version was written at least 20

⁷ [Three misquotations. Nowhere have I used the words "dishonest," "equivocal", "evasive," which Dr. Flood nevertheless puts in quotation-marks.—H.]

⁸ [I leave Dr. Flood's logic in the hands of the readers of the RECORDS.—H.]

⁹ [A misstatement of fact. I never argued that Smith "could not make any legal claim on his own tune". My words were: "If Smith had copyright, he could vindicate it nowhere save in Great Britain" (RECORDS, p. 327); and in my Fuller Rejoinder I phrased the thought as "Smith's inability to urge any *legal* claim outside of Great Britain". If Dr. Flood will read some handbook on English copyright, he will perceive that what I said is absolutely correct. Dr. Flood, however, contents himself with misrepresenting what I said and with an added sneer about a "handbook", and will not take the trouble to read anything about the English copyright law existing in Smith's time.—H.]

¹⁰ [New matter—and apparently incorrect; for O'Neill differs completely from Dr. Flood in the bibliographical data in question.—H.]

years previously."¹¹ It may surprise Dr. Henry now to learn that "Anacreon" was sung at Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, on June 21st, 1762, by Mr. Kear, as it was previously sung on November 25th, 1755.¹² Probably Tomlinson tinkered the Irish version, and made it the charter song of the Anacreontic Society.

10. Let me add that another famous song¹³ of the war of 1812-1814, "The Constitution and the Guerrière", was set to the old Irish air of "Oh Dandy O". The origin of the air has been claimed as "English" by Louis C. Elson, but it is sufficient to mention that it was printed by a Scotch publisher as an "Irish" air in 1788, and by another Scotch publisher, in his "Curious Selection of Fifty Irish Airs", in 1791, long before the English cribbed it. I must, however, forgive Mr. Elson, because he frequently confounds English and Irish; and, in his *National Music of America*, in recounting the gallantry of Captain Kane in the harbor of Apia, on March 15th, 1889, he twice alludes to "the *English* Captain Kane": unaware that Captain Kane, now Rear Admiral Sir Henry Cory Kane, K. C. B., is an Irish Catholic (the son of Sir Robert Kane of Cork), a pupil of the Irish Vincentians.

¹¹ [Entirely new matter—and quite incorrect. The "Anacreon" dated "1770 or 1771" by Dr. Flood was not a "tinkered" version. Also, it is incorrect to say there was an Irish version "written at least 20 years previously", or even one year previously, or indeed at any previous time.—H.]

¹² [Entirely new matter—and quite incorrect. The song we are discussing (namely, "To Anacreon in Heaven") was not sung in Ireland in the year 1762, nor had it been sung anywhere in 1755.—H.]

¹³ [The whole long paragraph is not only entirely new matter, but wholly irrelevant matter. Dr. Flood really does not love brevity, for he consumes much space in irrelevancies and meanwhile leaves absolutely untouched a very large amount of questions he should have discussed (e. g., the "things passed over", as I point out in my Fuller Rejoinder (pp. 130, 131).—H.]

11. I sincerely hope that the anniversary of "The Star Spangled Banner" will be fittingly observed in America next September. Some Anglomaniacs aver that the air is "unvocal", "unsuitable". etc., but it is a fine Irish air, and is aptly wedded to the rousing verses of Francis Scott Key.¹⁴

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

P. S.—It may be well to place on record the fact that "Anacreon" was sung at Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, on June 21, 1762: the singer was Mr. Kear (see *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* for contemporary notice). A similarly named air was previously sung by Jenny Wilder at Edinburgh on November 25, 1755. Unfortunately my notes do not state definitely if the two Anacreontic songs are the same, but it seems most likely that the Smock Alley song was what was invariably known as the Anacreontic song, that is, the song commencing: "To Anacreon in Heaven."¹⁵

¹⁴[The whole paragraph is, of course, irrelevant. "It is a fine Irish air," says Dr. Flood. If he could only prove this or if he could only furnish a probable basis for conjecturing it, instead of doggedly asserting it, he would make me his grateful debtor.—H.]

¹⁵[In saying that "To Anacreon in Heaven" was "invariably known as the Anacreontic Song," Dr. Flood decides the whole controversy *in favor* of John Stafford Smith. For Smith, in the title-page of his Fifth Book of Canzonets, declares himself the author of "the Anacreontic, and other popular songs."

On the other hand, if the "Anacreon" sung at Dublin in 1762 is assumed to be the same song as "To Anacreon in Heaven," it is an equally fair inference that the "Anacreon" sung in Edinburgh in 1755 was also the song "To Anacreon in Heaven." And here the humor of the situation crops out once more; for now, as 1755 is earlier than 1762, we should have to conclude that "To Anacreon in Heaven" is really neither English nor Irish, but Scottish!

With respect to the songs styled "Anacreon" and sung in the years 1755, 1762, Dr. Flood can not identify them with the song "To Anacreon in Heaven." The 17th and 18th centuries were prolific in convivial and love songs following the inspiration of the Greek poet Anacre-

It is also well to note that Smith *did* actually compose an Anacreontic song which he published in 1780, but the air is totally different from "To Anacreon in Heaven."¹⁶

Hence he could claim to be the composer of "The Anacreontic" song, and this is precisely what he printed in his *Fifth Book of Canzonets*, published in 1799 (May 8, 1799.) But, be it understood that Smith's Anacreontic is not our Anacreontic. There is as much difference between the Anacreontic song published by Smith in 1780 and the Glee arrangement of the Anacreontic song (To Anacreon in Heaven) published in 1799 as there is between a blind Venetian and a Venetian blind. We shall allow Smith any éclat to be derived from the former songs, but most certainly not the latter.

It is very significant that the first printed verses of "Anacreon" emanated from Rhames of Dublin, while a Dublin musician Smollet Holden, in 1798 (a year before Smith issued his *Fifth Book*) arranged the air for the Dublin Masonic Orphan School, with new words by

on, and borrowing his name for a general descriptive title. Thus, in 1656, Cowley's "*Anacreontiques; or Some Copies of Verses translated out of Anacreon;*" thus, in 1706, Phillips defines "Anacreontick Verse" as consisting of "seven syllables, without being tied to a certain Law of Quantity . . .;" thus, in 1749, in the *Power of Numbers in Poetical Composition*, "Anacreontic Verse" is described as "usually divided into stanzas, each stanza containing four Lines which Rime alternately." In 1785, Dr. Arnold published a collection entitled: "The Anacreontic Songs for 1, 2, 3, and 4 voices composed and selected by Dr. Arnold and dedicated to the Anacreontic Society" (London, J. Bland, 1785). In 1800, Tom Moore, while still a collegian, wrote his metrical translation of the "Odes of Anacreon." The 18th century rejoiced in several Anacreontic Societies. In this flood of Anacreontica how many minor and forgotten versifiers may have written songs that could briefly be styled "Anacreon"!—H.]

¹⁶[This is not new matter, but has so peculiarly the air of being so, that I venture to refer the reader to my original article in the RECORDS for Dec., 1913, p. 293., where I speak of the 1780 volume of Smith's in connection with his 1799 volume.—H.]

Brother Connell, and included it in his *Selection of Masonic Songs* (1798) of which a second edition appeared in 1802.¹⁷

W. H. G. F.

¹⁷ [I think it is quite inaccurate to describe the Rhames edition as the "first printed version." Dr. Flood assigns no reason for his absolute statement, gives no date, fixes no limits within which a probable date might even be conjectured. Furthermore, if the "Anacreon" of Rhames, which was published probably between the years 1775 and 1790, is the same as the "Anacreon" of the years 1755, 1762, it is not easy to conjecture why a song which was sung at Edinburgh in 1755 and in Dublin in 1762 should have had to wait so long for its first appearance in print.—H.]

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN.

CHAPTER VII

OPINION AND CAREER OF DR. RICO. THE BISHOP'S PARTISANS CARRY OFF THE CHURCH VESTMENTS AND VESSELS. MEETINGS AND FURTHER PROCEDURE OF THE TRUSTEES AND CONGREGATION. THE CHURCH CLOSED. HOGAN EXCOMMUNICATED. CONSECRATION OF BALTIMORE CATHEDRAL.

Hogan had cited in his pamphlets a formidable array of texts from the Canon law, to prove the Bishop in the wrong for suspending him, and to establish Hogan's right to continue as pastor of St. Mary's. The force of these canons had been questioned not only by the Bishop and his upholders in Philadelphia, but also, as we have seen, by Bishop England of Charleston. Hogan's supporters now set themselves to the reinforcement of his argument by additional opinions from a distance. They prejudged their own case egregiously, in the present instance, by marshaling in their defence a sensational adventurer, as plain facts disclose him, although he is pretentiously described in the defensive pamphlet of the occasion as the "Rt. Rev. Dr. John Rico of the Order of St. Francis, D. D. (*sic*), and Vicar General of the Armies of Spain." His opinion, then, was thus pompously paraded on the "Differences existing between the Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell

and Rev. Wm. Hogan, Relative to the Canons quoted by him and their application in support of his Claims to St. Mary's Church." This document, entitled "The Opinion" of the aforesaid "Rt. Rev. Dr. John Rico", &c., appeared in May, 1821; and such capital testimony also invites attention to the career behind it.

We shall follow the same according to Mr. Griffin's already published sketch of it in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*).

During the Constitutional movement in Spain, 1812, the Rev. John Rico was one of those who took part in that struggle for national independence. On its failure he was imprisoned; but, aided by Richard W. Meade of Philadelphia, then Consul at Cadiz, he escaped to the United States. It seems at least unusual that a Spanish Vicar General and one cited, besides, for eminence in Canon law, should be dependent for his living on the cigar trade; but we are told that Rico first settled in New York (1816), "and opened a store there as Manufacturer and Vender of Segars." (Rev. William V. Harold's "Address to the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia," 1823, p. 39). In Philadelphia, too, Dr. Rico is said to have earned his livelihood by making cigars, until November of 1817, "when he joined the settlers on the French grant in Alabama Territory. Congress, by Act of March 3, 1817, had granted four townships in Mississippi Territory to encourage the cultivation of the vine and the olive." Certainly the vine and the olive suggest nothing incompatible with proficiency in Canon law; but what sort of a Spanish canonist would court a *wife* withal, in his combined ecclesiastical and horticultural pursuits? At all events, the romance is related that "among others who went from Philadelphia and vicinity to the Alabama settlement was Mrs. Helen Le Boutellier with her son George Noble Stewart, by a former marriage

to Captain Noble Stewart, U. S. N. Their son was born at Burlington, New Jersey, 26 July 1799, and was baptized, it was stated, "in the Catholic Church at Philadelphia". Mrs. Stewart (Helen Counsel), had been married at Cadiz to Captain Stewart; whether she and Dr. Rico met in Philadelphia or not, has not been determined. In Alabama, however, their intimacy culminated in a civil marriage before Basil Mesler, Justice of the Peace at Demopolis. Rico's land was No. 18, Township 18, Range 3 East, and contained 12 acres. It lay about a mile from Demopolis, near the Black Warrior River (which joins the Tombigbee shortly beyond). Rico cultivated select vines of Spain, and the olive; and in Alabama he was known as *General* Rico.

Spanish politics becoming quiescent, Rico was confirmed in his title "Vicar General of the Armies", as bestowed by the *Junta* of Valencia, with salary to correspond. So on October 20, 1819, desiring to return to Spain, he applied through his attorney Arrieta for a payment on account of the salary due him since 1814. He was allowed the amount due since May 28, 1813, whereof an instalment (\$1000) was forwarded. On receipt of this it appears that he left his Alabama vineyard and wife without assigning any cause for such action. When he arrived in Philadelphia (1821), his friend Richard W. Meade, leader of the Trustees in the schism at St. Mary's, endeavored to install him as pastor of the congregation; but Rico seems not to have welcomed the prospect, save in the way of obliging his friend Meade. Hogan's pamphlet promulgating Canonist Rico's "Opinion" came out in May; Canonist Rico had reached Philadelphia in April, so that his authority now stands doubly discredited by the marriage episode in Alabama while he was bound by his monastic vows. Yet the pamphlet spoke of Rico as a "foreign clergyman of high rank and respectability,

then on his return to Spain to which he had been recalled by the governor (*sic*) of that country." Hogan, in short, had submitted to Rico certain questions "which might tend to allay the acrimony which existed in the mind of some individuals who supposed that opposition to a Bishop, however just the cause, was an unpardonable offence." Rico's answers, to be sure, all justified Hogan's conduct. We learn that the questions were put in writing at the house of John Leamy, on the night of May 2, 1821; and that the answers were taken down in the Spanish language by Leamy, as he certified. Richard W. Meade also certified that Rico was well known to him. "I have the most perfect confidence in his knowledge and experience as a Catholic clergyman; I have been intimately acquainted with him for ten years, aided and assisted him in leaving Spain when he was persecuted for political motives and not from any other cause; I have been duly notified from Madrid of his reestablishment as Vicar General, and that funds were remitted by the Government of Spain and paid me by Louis Clapier, Esq., of this city for the purpose of paying his expenses back of that country; that Rico declined being made Bishop when several years ago the title was offered him." So certified, May 7, 1821.

On the contrary side, the Rev. William V. Harold, who "did the pamphleting" for Bishop Conwell's friends, charged the rebellious Trustees (October, 1823), with putting Rico, a married priest, in the pastor's office. But the Trustees, accepting Rico's word for it, denied the charge, whilst Henry Toland, John Leamy, Louis Clapier, Juan Cardeza, John Vaugh, and Joseph Gardette certified, under date of October 15, 1823, that Rico was a worthy and honorable man in this country and in Spain.

Next came a "Continuation of Address to the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia," November 15, 1823, by R. W. Meade. He asked: "Can the Vicar General (of Philadelphia) and his anonymous coadjutor bring any proof of Mr. Rico's marriage? This gentleman on my questioning him relative to a report of this nature in circulation, solemnly denied it, in the presence of several respectable persons in this city prior to his departure for Europe. On this assertion Mr. Harold stands publicly convicted of falsehood and slander." (Page 38).

Meanwhile, Rico was in high political favor in Spain. He had sailed for Gibraltar on May 4, 1821, in the brig *Rose*, Captain Tubby. On arriving at Madrid, he was restored to his position as Vicar General of the Armies; and the Archbishopric of Valencia being vacant, he was appointed its Vicar General and Governor of the Archbishopric. He was paid all arrearages and elected a Deputy in the Cortes from Monovar in Valencia; nay more, he was acting as Deputy at the very time when his character was under fire in Philadelphia. Nevertheless (we quote Mr. Griffin): "Our investigations, made in 1887, convince us that Rico married the widow Stewart Le Boutellier. We gathered the recollections of those then living who knew him and of others who knew him by family tradition of him. His stepson, the Hon. George N. Stewart, died June 4, 1882." Richard W. Meade even further testified to the "high character and exalted position of the friar;" and not to depreciate the cause of official certifying, he added that Messrs. John Leamy, John Ashley, Joseph Dugan, Michael Doran, Timothy Desmond, Lewis Clapier, Anthony Groves, Charles Taws, Thomas Newman, Richard W. Meade and Edward Barry, certified that they had sent Hogan's pamphlet to Rico and entertained no doubt of the soundness and correctness of the canons quoted by

Hogan, and of the arguments offered to the public in defence of his ecclesiastical rights, in the hope of convincing Dr. Conwell of his error. They had also seen the original letter from De Barth, then Vicar General and sole authority in the Diocese, dated Conewago, June 20, 1820, to Hogan as Pastor of St. Mary's; *item*, the receipts of Hogan for his quarterly salary as pastor of the Church. Wherefore, Hogan was "duly and properly inducted as pastor of the church, and he ought to have continued to exercise his faculties without any intermission, notwithstanding the uncanonical, and consequently unjust interdict of Dr. Conwell."

This practical comment on Hogan's appeal to Canonist Rico might still suggest itself in the light of subsequent events. If Hogan's followers truly respected the judgment of a Spanish ecclesiastic, however equivocal his reported adventures in Alabama, why did some of them then altogether quit the pale of the Catholic Church? Catholic Spain would be the last precinct of Catholic Christendom to countenance actual schism; yet this extreme step was chosen by some of the refractory partisans in that miserable conflict. A word only on the point of Rico's having "solemnly denied" his reported marriage in Alabama. Here, forsooth, he was a consistent canonist; because no priest under vows of celibacy can contract sacramental matrimony as the Church regards it; a civil marriage would be a civil affair strictly, and might bind him by laws of the State concerned, but could not count as marriage in the view of the Church. Even the civil bond (if we are to accept Mr. Griffin's impartial conclusions in support of the Alabama marriage) reflected small honor on a cleric in Catholic Orders; and all told, Dr. Rico's career shows him to have been dominated by political and mundane interests, leaving no discernible zeal for his priestly vocation as such.

The controversy, already overgrown, put forth a new branch when the Bishop obtained possession of the vestments and sacred vessels of St. Mary's Church by a somewhat summary act on the part of his supporters. On May 2, Relf's Gazette announced: "A report is in circulation that during the course of last night St. Mary's chapel was entered and the priestly vestments, sacred vessels, &c. carried off. Certain it is that these articles have mysteriously disappeared." Accordingly Messrs. Ashley and Leamy were appointed a committee on *recovery*. The next day the committee, accompanied by George Heyl, a Notary Public, waited on the Bishop and demanded the return of the missing articles. The Bishop gave them a black chasuble, stole and maniple, two black dalmatics, a black antependium, a silver thurible and censer."

Messrs. Ashley and Leamy reported to the Trustees at the meeting on May 14, and declared under oath that they had waited upon Bishop Conwell and made the demand, to which the Bishop had replied: "My counsel will answer for me. I took advice and have no answer but through my counsel; or I will answer according to his directions." Again he said: "I will give up whatever can be proven to belong to the church. I will give up the black vestments and will examine further into it." The other articles not being produced, the Trustees took out a writ of replevin, and engaged Messrs. Duponceau and Ingersoll as their attorneys. Suit was instituted on May 14, against the Bishop, to recover articles valued at \$1000. Lewis Ryan and James Brady gave bond with the Bishop for the articles concerned (which are enumerated in a document belonging to the American Catholic Historical Society). The Trustees made claim in Court that these things were the property of the church. Hereto the Bishop made counterclaim that the board

was not properly constituted when the action was brought: since Father James Cummiskey was excluded; *item*, that the articles were the property of the Bishop as presiding pastor; and likewise, that the Bishop as pastor was a Trustee, and President of the Board, and that as such his possession was not adverse to that of the Trustee. The Secretary kept the books, the Treasurer kept the money, and the clerical members should have the vestments and things intended for the altar; *item*, if these things be the property of the corporation, they are vested therein only in the sense that the members are Trustees for the pastor's convenience. The articles were now in the pastoral hands, and the Trustees would apply them to an improper use by a person who is not a pastor of the church, duly appointed. On May 16, the Trustees ordered that all things necessary for divine service should be procured. But the suit dragged, and on July 6 the Bishop pleaded "property"; adding, on November 3, the plea *non capit*. The suit was finally decided in favor of the Trustees.

On May 3, the Trustees passed resolutions which again rejected the Bishop's claim to be a pastor of St. Mary's, and recognized him as Bishop only. They urged the plea that his having episcopal charge of the Western part of New Jersey and the whole of Pennsylvania and Delaware, precluded him from the capacity of discharging the office of pastor to any particular church. Therefore they requested him for a statement of the number of congregations in the Diocese, with the number of persons in each, so that it might be determined what sum would be a fair contribution from St. Mary's congregation for the support of the Bishop.

On Sunday, May 8, they issued a call for the congregation to meet again, "to signify their wishes in relation to the restoration of Rev. William Hogan to St. Mary's

Church." That same morning, at St. Joseph's, the Bishop announced a monition to Hogan, threatening him with excommunication if he persisted in his course. The meeting of St. Mary's congregation "favorable to justice and Religion and the restoration of Rev. William Hogan," took place at Washington Hall on May 10. C. W. Bazely was Chairman, and A. Randall Secretary of the meeting, which, as a matter of course, promptly and strongly expressed the desire that Hogan should be restored as pastor of the church. And on May 11, the newspapers published the following *resolution*, by way of answer to the Bishop's monition.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

The Right Rev. Bishop Conwell having read and caused to be read in St. Joseph's Chapel, a denunciation of Rev. William Hogan, with a threat of excommunicating him, or any person who should support him in the resumption and exercise of his just rights and privileges as pastor of said church, and also stated that the same should be read in all the Catholic Churches of this city : the subscribers, lay trustees of St. Mary's Church deeming it an imperious duty, to prevent, as far as in us lies, any proceeding of this nature (from) taking place in the church of which they are constituted guardians ; a proceeding equally disgraceful to the age and country in which we live, as it is libelous and injurious to the Religion of which we are members : have come to the resolution of keeping St. Mary's Church closed, until we shall have a pastor to officiate therein, who can properly appreciate what is due to religion and common decency ; and of this due notice shall be given.

JOHN LEAMY, JOSEPH STRAHAN, AUGUSTINE FAGAN,
JOHN ASHLEY, JOHN DEMPSEY, JOHN DOYLE.
PATRICK CONNELL, JOSEPH DUGAN,

They had declared Hogan pastor of the church, and accordingly he took his place as pastor and trustee at

the meeting on May 14. He was made president, and the Rev. James Cummiskey, who was seated beside him, expressed his dissatisfaction and afterwards absented himself from the meetings. On May 28, the Board took advantage of his continued absence to declare his seat vacant and himself debarred from attending as Trustee; thereby getting rid of the last of Hogan's opponents.

On the morrow, Sunday, May 15, the church was closed "against clergy and people." So Bishop Conwell stated in his letter of May 16 to Archbishop Maréchal. He mentions, however, that Hogan officiated at a funeral on that day and said Mass on the next. He therefore determined to give him one more monition and then to carry out his threat of excommunication. He had already "notified him yesterday in writing, through Cummiskey and Hayden, that he would be excommunicated on performing any duty of the sacred ministry. . . . Trusteeship is the bane of religion in this country; the success of these Jacobins enables us to crush the system: the friends of the Church are numerous. The new Trustees and oppositionists are not practical Catholics." He further informed the Archbishop that there was a Scotchman, a Protestant, "who has 50 gray hairs, unmarried, and of an innocent life, who wishes to become a priest." . . . "Mr. Dwen is ordained and gone to Conewago."

On the same day he wrote again to the Archbishop, saying that he had been solicited by a Committee of Catholics to request Archbishop Maréchal to come to Philadelphia to add solemnity to the act of excommunication, which he intended before Ascension Day. "Your presence will make it appear not an act of resentment on my part or proceeding from noxious purposes, but purely intended for the salvation of souls. Perhaps Bruté, now on his way to Baltimore, might be present. A priest will be sent to escort you, and a fund to pay expenses. P. S.

Nothing will satisfy the people but your presence; it will prevent numbers from joining the schism. Father Hurley has had a nervous attack. Rev. Mr. Doyle from Ireland assists him at present."

The Archbishop's answer, as copied from the original in the Archives of Baltimore, is here subjoined.

My Dear Lord,

If I had any hopes of being useful in any occasion to the cause of religion by going to Philadelphia, I certainly would not hesitate a moment in complying with your request and this of the respectable gentlemen who so meritoriously adhere to you and defend your authority.

But, my Lord, it is evident I cannot pronounce in the first instance upon the lamentable subject of the Scandals which now agitate the Catholic community of your City. To you alone as Diocesan Bishop it belongs to pronounce first judgment upon it. Secondly, it is no less evident I cannot appear in that case as a witness merely for the purpose of adding weight to your sentence, much less can I be the executor of it. The office of the Supreme Judge, next to the Pope, with which I am unfortunately invested, absolutely forbids it. Thirdly, from the many letters I have written on this affair, some of which have become public, it is known to everybody in Philadelphia, that I openly condemned the impiety of Mr. Hogan and approve the conduct of those who support you in your struggle against his intrigues and brutal violence. Surely my personal presence could not add any force to the opinion I have expressed in so explicit a manner, what then can I do in your behalf and this of the Church of Philadelphia in the present dreadful circumstances?

In case, my Dear Lord, you do propose a sentence of excommunication against that most wicked Priest, be pleased to send me your sentence and some of the principal motives on which it is grounded. I have no doubt that it will be in my power to approve it, and not only will I sanction its justice but will have it published in all the churches of my Diocese,

and if you think it proper, you may, after my example, do the same in your own. This mode of proceeding is certainly more consonant with the laws and discipline of the Church and far better calculated to make an impression on the Catholics of the U. S., than a more personal interview which Hogan and his partisans could easily exhibit as a low and unjust combination organized against him.

In a word, to assist at the sentence which you wish me to pronounce would be a disorder in the government of the Church similar to this of the judge of a County Court who would request the Supreme Judge of the U. S., to come and sit down on the same bench with him, to give by his presence more solemnity and weight to the judgment he meditates against a guilty citizen.

Besides, were I standing beside you as an associate judge or a counsellor, where would be the possibility of an appeal to me as Metropolitan either by you for my approbation or by Hogan for his real or pretended justification? This mode of acting seems to me totally subversive of the ordinary course of ecclesiastical law prescribed by the Church.

I hope, my Dear Lord, that you will be here with Dr. Ch. on the Ascension Day. If you have then excommunicated Hogan we shall take together the means the most efficacious against him and give you proofs that all resolved to support you in the painful but meritorious exercise of your jurisdiction.

I remain, &c., &c.

Hogan persisting in spite of the monitions, the Bishop proceeded to take the threatened step, and on Sunday, May 27, he read from the altar of St. Augustine's Church, "loudly and distinctly", the following form of excommunication, in the presence of Fathers Hurley, Cummiskey, Hayden, Ruloff, Holland, and Doyle.

WHEREAS the Rev. William Hogan, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and regardless of his duty as a Christian, and a Catholic priest; has not hesitated to rend and tear a-

sunder the seamless garment of Christ ; by causing confusion in the Church, and endeavouring to establish a schism, which has already succeeded so far as to divide the congregation of St. Mary's, and which has deprived the clergy and the Roman Catholics of the city of Philadelphia, of the use of their Cathedral ;

And whereas the said William has usurped and arrogated to himself the right of exercising priestly functions, not only without our approbation, but in direct violation of our pastoral mandate, forbidding him in express terms, to perform any functions of the sacred ministry of the priesthood, under pain of incurring the severest censures of the Church ;

And whereas by his infraction and utter disregard of our prohibition and monitions, many of the flock committed to our spiritual care and superintendence have been lead astray and many are still in danger of being seduced into the like errors, by his and their example, and arguments, and false reasoning, and still further to assist by their presence at the sacrilegious functions of his ministry ; which would involve them in like censure, and thus bring a curse on themselves and families :

Therefore, considering the charge we have of their souls as Chief Pastor, and that we are obliged to give a strict account of them at the last day, when we must all appear together, before the tribunal of the all-seeing Judge ; and solicitous accordingly, lest he, or they, or we ourselves, should perish, and be lost forever, by our neglecting to take notice of such conduct and prevarication : we duly admonish him in charity, to be on his guard against the delusive snares, especially of his greatest enemies, pretending to be his best friends, to beware of the dangers which surrounded him ; and to have recourse to prayer for grace from Heaven, to enable him to resist and withstand their temptations ; but, instead of taking advice and returning to a sense of duty, he became more hardened and obstinate from day to day, and at length totally incorrigible, even so far as to cast off all regard for superior authority, and to be no longer subject to the rules and discipline of the Church, and still continues to persevere in this disposition.

Wherefore, with a view to the fulfilment of our duty, according to the laws of God and the Church, We have been under the disagreeable necessity of performing the most painful task this day, in cutting off this incurable member by the sword of excommunication, from the body of the Catholic Church. Our Blessed Saviour says, if your hand or foot scandalize you, cut it off, and cast it from you, and St. Paul, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, desired the evil one to be cut off, and put away from among them.

Hence, in conformity to the precepts and practice of our Blessed Lord, and his Apostle, and in virtue of our commission, and the authority of binding and loosing, conferred on us as successor of the Apostles : We cut off, by the spiritual sword of excommunication, the said William Hogan, as a putrid member, lest any of our flock should be led into schism and error, by attending the sacrilegious functions of his ministry, and thus treasure up to themselves wrath against the day of wrath ; and hence we sequester and excommunicate him from the Holy Catholic Church, or from having any share in the spiritual treasures and benefits that are to be had in it through the communion of saints, the holy sacrifice of the Mass, or the prayers and good works of the just ; and declare him accordingly to be no longer a member of the Holy Roman Catholic Church.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

✠ HENRY,

Bishop of Philadelphia.

This document was sent, as requested, to Archbishop Maréchal, who acknowledged the same on June 10, concurrently with Bishop Cheverus, as follows :

Right Rev. and Dear Sir:

I have received the copy of the awful sentence which you have been lately forced to pronounce against the Rev. William Hogan. According to your request, and after a long and serious examination, I send you at last my judgment upon it.

I do look upon the sentence of excommunication which you have pronounced against the said Wm. Hogan, as perfectly just, and conformable in every respect to the canonical laws framed against obstinate and impious priests. Far therefore from being any longer a lawful minister of the Catholic Church, Mr. Hogan is not even now a simple member of it; and the unfortunate trustees who have introduced him into your cathedral, and expelled you from it, instead of being the defenders and supporters of the Catholic religion (as they were bound to be by the law of God and the nature of their office), are in reality the enemies and persecutors of it.

✠ AMB., *Arch. Balt.*

Baltimore, 19th June, 1821.

To the Rt. Rev. Dr. H. Conwell, Bishop of Philadelphia.

The above judgment of our revered Archbishop has my full concurrence and approbation.

✠ JOHN, *Bishop of Boston.*

Thus fell the sword of excommunication, and another serious stage of the controversy was measured.

A few days later, Bishop Conwell went to Baltimore, where together with Bishop Cheverus he assisted Archbishop Maréchal in the consecration of Baltimore Cathedral. The sermon on this occasion was preached by the Rev. Roger Baxter, who was afterwards stationed at St. Joseph's, in Philadelphia, and died there on May 24, 1827.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRUSTEES IN THE SADDLE. THEY EXCLUDE FATHER CUMMISKEY. THEIR FORMAL REASONS REVIEWED. HOGAN PUBLISHES A CATECHISM, MARÉCHAL-CONWELL CORRESPONDENCE. FATHER COOPER. THE REV. SERVANDUS MIERS. ARCHBISHOP'S "OPINION." THE TRUSTEES ADDRESS CATHOLICS OF U. S. CAREY'S ANSWER. THE ARCHBISHOP'S "HINTS" ON LEGAL POINTS.

The Hoganite Trustees being now in sole control of the Board, proceeded to strengthen their position and carry out their schismatic purposes. On May 28 they ordered that "all episcopal insignia be taken down and removed to a place of safety." They also *resolved*, "That the conduct of Rev. Mr. Hurley, in having lent himself and his church for so infamous, disgraceful and scandalous an act as that which was performed there yesterday by Bishop Conwell and his Chapter, merits and receives our most decided reprobation."

Another resolution had it,

That the Rev. William Hogan has resumed his station as pastor of the church, and according to seniority took the chair, at a meeting of the Board on May 14, and presided over the Board; and the Rev. Mr. Cummiskey, having also attended that meeting, was placed on the right hand of the President's chair, but thought proper, during the sitting, to express his disapprobation and dissatisfaction at being superseded, and afterwards fully confirmed the same by absenting himself altogether from the Board, although several meetings had been held, and had also absented himself from St. Mary's Church and neglected discharging his pastoral functions. (Therefore), Resolved that Rev. Mr. Cummiskey cannot any

longer be considered a pastor of St. Mary's Church; having voluntarily vacated his seat at the said Board and neglected and refused discharging his pastoral duties in said church.

Father Cummiskey was served a copy of this resolution, and thereafter he avoided all the meetings.

The Trustees wrote to Archbishop Maréchal that no such proceeding as "the reading of the excommunication" could be permitted at *St. Mary's Church*. "For our sense of duty to Religion and to our constituents convinces us it could not be for the benefit of either to acquiesce in measures which would seem to imply that we supposed the providence of an omnipotent and infinitely good Being could be shoved aside to permit one portion of His creation to dispose of the other here and hereafter, as their interest, passion or malignity might prompt them." Concerning "John, Bishop of Boston, who brings up the rear of this pious crusade against virtue, talents and worth, (and) truth, we will only express our regret that the office of Bishop should be bestowed on a person who perverts it to such vile ends."

One were not quite inaptly, if yet ineptly, moved to strike up the *Marseillaise* just here: "Let us go, children of the Country;" for the like overhauling of Catholic, that is divinely delegated, authority, in the interest of important lay trustees, ineffably reëchoes Danton's maxim: "Mais il nous faut de l'audace, et encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace."

At this meeting (May 28) the Trustees formulated and put on their *Minutes* the Board's reasons for sustaining Hogan. His only guilt was a "hasty and inconsiderate breach of pastoral courtesy, a trivial trespass on prerogative." The bishop was declared to be "unqualified, perhaps ignorant, acrimonious, censorious and vindictive, prone to ire and too mindful of petty offences, stubborn

in error and inflexible to forgiveness." They asserted that nine-tenths of the congregation adhered to Hogan. They dismissed sundry employés of the congregation: Benjamin Cross, organist, was succeeded by Charles Taws; John McGuigan, sexton, was replaced by Patrick Sharp; and Patrick Jordan, the father of the Rev. P. A. Jordan, was discharged from his post of teacher, in favor of Joseph Dagman. These changes caused popular comment; and on May 10, Mr. Taws published an advertisement in Relf's Gazette denying that he was involved in the dismissal of St. Mary's former organist. This announcement was also endorsed by the eight Trustees. At any rate, Mr. Taws soon tired of his position, which he resigned on July 1. John Huneker succeeded him, on a salary of \$150 a year. On May 14, John Doyle, Trustee, gave notice that Patrick Sharp would collect the pew rents.

In the earlier stages of the dispute frequent reference was made to Hogan's zeal for the education of children. His friends quoted his efforts in this direction as practical evidence of his zeal and other priestly qualities. But his opponents argued that his unfitness in other aspects was too pronounced to permit a favorable construction of his motives in that educational sphere alone. He was thereby courting popularity and influence; but had his motives been truly sound, they would hardly beget such a spirit of rank disobedience as he displayed in his own conduct. Anyhow, he maintained his interest in catechetics. On Sunday, June 3, he preached a sermon for the benefit of the Catechism and Sunday School Society; and thereafter came quite a series of sermons to this end. The pamphlet entitled a "Reply to an Invidious Attack and Calumny of Rev. Wm. Harold" (1822), stated that the proceeds from the collections after these sermons, from June, 1821, to February,

1822, amounted to \$538.70, and that the fund was swelled from other sources to the extent of \$150.14. Which money had been expended towards clothing for the children, and for school books and stationery. The roll of pupils showed 376 boys and 155 girls. Hogan also published a version of "The Catechism of Dr. James Butler revised and corrected by Rev. William Hogan, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia." He thus explained his enterprise:

I have examined with some degree of attention the various Catholic Catechisms published in this country for the instruction of youth and observing the prolixity of the answers on some, and the extreme conciseness of others have judged it best to republish the Catechism of Rev. Dr. Butler for their instruction.

WILLIAM HOGAN.

A copy of this Catechism is to be found in the Ridgway Library. That the Bishop rejected it, appears in his letter of June 18 to Archbishop Maréchal: "a catechism purporting to be Butler's revised and corrected by Hogan, which I have forbidden the faithful to buy or use without authority. It has a large chapter on 28th page about Confession and Indulgences; he says there is no actual remedy for mortal sin but perfect contrition." The book contains 34 pages, *12 mo.*

On June 4, the Trustees had a new baptismal font set up in St. Mary's Church, and on June 11 they adopted a petition to His Holiness Pope Pius VII, which was forwarded in care of the Sardinian Consul General at Leghorn. They asked for the removal of the Bishop, whom they declared to be "the dupe of the Sulpicians at Baltimore."

Bishop Conwell's letters of the time to the Archbishop at Baltimore indicate renewed hope and confidence, despite the fact that the Hoganites were in full control of

St. Mary's Church, and were fighting desperately before the civil court, before the Curia, and in the forum of public opinion, to hold and promote their advantage. We may follow the letters in summary.

June 15: Bishop Conwell had been at Lancaster two days before Pentecost. He left Baltimore for Georgetown on June 1, and was afterwards at Emmitsburg, Conewago and Lancaster, stopping two nights with Fathers Dubois and De Barth. He had hoped, but failed, to see Father Cooper, who had started for Baltimore; and he requests that Father Cooper be permitted to come and labor in Philadelphia. This was the Rev. Samuel Sutherland Cooper (see the article "The Toothless Priest," *American Catholic Historical Researches* for January, 1898). Father Cooper had done much good (so the Bishop reports), while in Philadelphia some time previously. "He has great influence among Philadelphians, permit him to come to our assistance." Regarding the situation at St. Mary's, the Bishop's lawyers declared that those excommunicated could be ejected by law, forasmuch as the charter contemplated a "society of Roman Catholics." The faithful, moreover, were "subscribing bountifully towards adding to the little, holy church of St. Joseph; five men are working at it this day." Let Father Cooper be sent immediately; the people wanted him, and the Bishop understood that Father Cooper was willing on his part. "We have got an organ, and the practice on it is truly gratifying. Yesterday evening it accompanied the singing of fifty ladies of Religious, respectable families." He sends the Archbishop a copy of the ban on Hogan, "which I lately read loudly and distinctly after using the form of excommunication prescribed by the Roman Pontifical."

It would seem that Bishop Conwell heard from the Archbishop on the same date, June 15, for he writes

again to express his satisfaction that Father Cooper was agreed to come to Philadelphia. Further, the Bishop's committee would like to have an expression of opinion from the Archbishop on the excommunication of Hogan, "which I performed openly in St. Augustine's on the 27th ult. by myself assisted by Hurley, Roloff, Holland, Cumiskey, Hayden and Doyle, according to the Roman Pontifical, for his contumacy and perverse disregard to all authority, and for his having usurped and exercised priestly and pastoral functions in defiance of our prohibition, frequently repeated under pain of excommunication. The Committee think that your approval is necessary to remove the prejudice that may exist in some, that the proceeding was the effect of passion on my part, and conceived and acted on without consideration, merely, perhaps, to gratify dislike and hatred. Some think that I am averse to having you say anything *in scriptis* on the subject, for they blame me, and think that your silence shows your disapprobation of my conduct. It will give strength to my cause to be supported by the Archbishop and afterwards occasionally by the Bishops." Four lawyers of note, Kittera, Keating, Chaney and Hopkins, desire the Archbishop's opinion as to the discipline of the Church in its bearings on Hogan and the Trustees. The question will be raised whether it be forbidden by law to acknowledge the Pope's Supremacy; and the Hoganites "or Huguenots" will contest this point, although they themselves have appealed to His Holiness. The matter will greatly interest American jurisprudence, and the debate will fill volumes. The lawyers reason that to excommunicate the Trustees would remove them from office, if not done for that express purpose. But "I am not desirous or fond of excommunicating any person." Nevertheless he holds that the Trustees have already incurred censures effect-

ually, and that a decision from the Archbishop thus declaring, ought to serve the same object, and relieve the Bishop from the odium of further severe measures.

June 18: a letter again reflecting the good spirit which animates the people of St. Joseph's.

June 20: Father Cooper has arrived and brought with him the Archbishop's "decision and judgment on the proceedings." "There is an extraordinary spirit among the Catholics of Philadelphia to support the Hierarchy and the discipline of the Church; they have contributed bountifully. If we succeed, Trusteeism, the bane and ruin of Religion, will have died a natural death." He mentions the affair of Dr. Rico, and speaks of another Spaniard, styled "Bishop" by the past Saturday's *Aurora*, who had been confined in the Mexican prison of the Inquisition. "I am told that he went to Hogan's sacrilegious mass last Sunday with Mr. Meade." The Trustees "endeavour to-day to pass him off for the Pope's Nuncio, sent to regulate affairs in the U. S. and sanction its Independence." The Bishop also inquires concerning a certain Mr. Tuomy, "now at Georgetown, who wishes to be received into Philadelphia."

The reputed Spanish "Bishop" was the Rev. Servandus A. Miers, whom Bishop Conwell describes in a letter to the Archbishop (July 22), as an "infidel Mexican priest called Bishop Miers, lately escaped from the prison of the Inquisition. He stopped with Mr. Meade, and went with him to Hogan's mass, while in Philadelphia. The title of the pamphlet issued on Hogan affairs on July 11, tells what else is of pertinence in this connection:

"The Opinion of Rt. Rev. Servandus A. M. Miers, D.S.T. in the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, and Chaplain in the Army of the Right, 1st Army of the Peninsula, on Certain Queries addressed to him by Rev. W. Hogan, Pastor of St. Mary's." This brought out

"Remarks on the Opinion," &c.; for the Miers pamphlet, of course, entirely supported Hogan, whereas "Remarks" aimed to subvert such views. Miers then retorted, August 17, with "A Word" (11 octavo pages) "Relative to an Anonymous Pamphlet." He was undoubtedly an adventurer of the same stamp as Rico. In his letter of July 22, Bishop Conwell again speaks of Rico, and refers to his activity in the *segar* trade while he lived in Philadelphia. He "was never known as a common Catholic. When going away on the call of the Cortes, he was introduced to the public as a Bishop and left an opinion like Miers."

Father Cooper it was who brought the long desired "opinion" of Archbishop Maréchal (duly cited in context with Hogan's excommunication). The Trustees replied in a brief pamphlet under date of June 26, 1821, wherein they demur: "To a stranger, the steps you have taken in relation to our concerns, must appear totally irreconcilable with the dictates of justice, charity or discretion. A difference between our Bishop and pastor takes place, for an occurrence which, as stated by the former, appears of a very trifling nature, but the occasion is seized openly by him to inflict a punishment which bears every mark of injustice, despotism and oppression." . . . (See circular in A. C. H. S., "To Ambrose Marechal.")

Here is also a contemporary letter by Mr. Joseph Snyder to Father Marshall (June 16, 1821):

The Trustees have given the power of binding and loosing to Mr. Hogan, since which time (about five weeks ago) he has been in the full exercise of the Priestly functions of St. Mary's Church. He had declared in the pulpit that the Bishop himself was excommunicated and, of course, the excommunication pronounced against him by the Bishop is *null and void*. He also requested his flock to pray for the poor man (the

Bishop) and at the same time warned his people not to receive any sacraments from him as they would be sacrilege. This man is suffered to go on in his way, no one contradicts him, of course, the people believe him.

On June 21, 1821, the Trustees issued an "Address of the Committee of St. Mary's Church of Philadelphia, to their Brethren of the Roman Catholic Church Faith throughout the United States of America, on the Subject of the Reform of Sundry Abuses in the Administration of our Church Discipline." We subjoin the luminous extract :

As these States unfortunately have not been blessed with a second Carroll, who was a native of our country, and who, consequently, was well acquainted with our institutions, and respected them, as well as our individual rights, it becomes our duty, if we wish to preserve our religion unchanged, and free from the superstition and ignorance which has been attempted to be introduced among us, to adopt some general plan for the future management and direction of a uniform system throughout the United States; without being compelled, as heretofore, to receive, pay and obey men who are a disgrace to our religion, to us, to themselves and to those who send them. A person of respectability and literary acquirements should be selected to proceed to Rome and enter into a regular and written agreement with the Pope; the basis to be:

I. We claim the exclusive right which always belonged to the Church, of electing our own Pastors and Bishops, and when a Bishop shall be so elected by the Trustees and congregations of each State, he shall be ordained in this country and receive the Bull, or approbation from Rome as a matter of course.

II. No priest shall be suspended by the Bishop without a trial.

III. A priest suspended, to be tried by three or more priests of distinct States from that in which the trial takes place; there shall be a right of appeal to the Archbishop and then a further appeal to the Court of Rome.

IV. The priest during suspension to receive his salary until final judgment.

Should these measures meet the approbation of our fellow citizens and be adopted, we have not the least doubt but that they will be approved by the Holy Father. . . . In order to obviate the difficulty of procuring persons adequate to the task imposed on them of preaching and instructing in our religion, we would propose the establishment of a College for the express purpose of educating annually a certain number of persons to enter Holy Orders.

JOHN LEAMY, *Chairman*

JOHN ASHLEY

JOSEPH DUGAN

MICHAEL DORAN

TIMOTHY DESMOND

RICHARD W. MEADE

LEWIS CLAPIER

THOMAS NEWMAN

JOHN T. SULLIVAN

JOHN SAVAGE

CHARLES TAWS

ANTHONY GROVES

EDWARD BARRY.

Bishop Conwell refers to this document in his letter of July 22: "The Infidel Jacobin Committee address the Catholics of the U. S. in an infamous Heretical pamphlet to form an Independent Church; we issue a counter one."

Mathew Carey, who to this phase of the contention had supported Hogan and his party, now framed an "Address" in support of the Bishop's cause. In a pamphlet issued on May 25, 1821, Carey had laid claim to the pamphlets of December 21, 1820, February 21 and 23, and May 10, 1821, all signed "A Catholic Layman," as his product; so that the present document over the same signature is presumed to be from his hand, even apart from the confirmatory style of it. The pamphlet

appeared early in July, 1821, and bore the title: An Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States, by a Layman of St. Mary's Congregation, Philadelphia.

He appealed "to the candid and dispassionate of every denomination to whom the signers of this singular production are known, to examine their names and character. They will behold men whose lives have been and still continue to be notoriously,—so notoriously scandalous, as would disgrace Paganism itself; and others, who may not have been so openly vicious, but who were scarcely ever known to belong to any religious society; whose chief study has been cent per cent; their ledger their Bible, and the Coffee-house their Church. . . . I assert, without fear of contradiction, that of the 13 gentlemen who signed their names to the pamphlet, not more than one has received the sacraments for several years past; and some of them, according to their own acknowledgment, have never received them. Yet, ludicrous as it must appear, these are the saints who propose themselves as reformers of the discipline of that Church which they profess to believe to be guided by the Holy Ghost." (P. 7)

The Trustees had referred to the many scandalous scenes which had been witnessed in Philadelphia. But Carey asks:

"Who were the actors in these scandalous scenes? . . . They were Mr. Hogan, D. J. Desmond, John T. Sullivan, C. W. Bazeley, Doctor Stafford, John Leamy, &c., who if they were Turks or Pagans could not have done more to bring the name of Catholic into contempt by their scandalous conduct and total disregard of morality, truth and decency."

And since the Trustees had referred to their "friend and father, Archbishop Carroll," Carey quoted from Carroll to the Catholics of Holy Trinity Church in 1797,

to show that St. Mary's Trustees are "schismatics and heretics. Not one drop of Catholic blood warms the heart, nor one ray of Catholic faith enlightens the understanding of those who penned the Address."

On July 9, the Trustees reopened the question of amending the charter, and passed a resolution to have it amended; Hogan and seven of the Trustees being present at the meeting. On July 15, Bishop Conwell administered confirmation in St. Augustine's Church. (Diary of Mary Loyd.)

Bishop Conwell's letter of July 22 to the Archbishop, cited in previous connections, also notes that: "suit was entered on June 30th against the Trustees, for holding the church against its lawful pastor." The lawyers request of the Archbishop that he supply documents on the canon law of the case, on the subject of excommunication, especially. They wish to make sure that the act was valid according to the law of the Church, should it be called in question; they also desired that the opinion of the Archbishop, as written on June 19, should be suppressed, "though it has been printed." He adds that they have "made St. Joseph's a very genteel church and have most crowded congregations at all the Masses. Cooper is very useful. Hogan has now none that can be called Catholics. The Catholics are beginning to be ashamed, though they are still violent. Protestants go out of curiosity, and say that it is Liberty, not Religion that they want." Some Bishops, it is stated, are anxious that a meeting of Bishops should be called.

No less than three documents are extant which seem to present the mind of Archbishop Maréchal upon the questions wherein the lawyers desired his opinion. First, we will quote from an original document in the Catholic Archives of America (Notre Dame University; document presented by Miss Gartland.):

To the Rt. Rev. Dr. Conwell, R. C. Bishop of Philadelphia.

BALTIMORE, 28 *July*, 1821.

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir :

I returned here yesterday evening, after an absence of nearly three weeks. Among the multitude of letters which had accumulated whilst I was out of Baltimore, I singled out your last favour. I read it with attention and hasten to give you a few lines of answer.

Your lawyers will likely represent to the court the conduct of Mr. Hogan and the Trustees as an infraction of the act of incorporation granted to St. Mary's Church. Under that point of view it is evident I can not give them any useful information. For I never read that Act, nor do I know the extent of the Protection the laws of Pennsylvania grant to Religious sects.

By the inspection of these points of Civil law, the defenders of your cause are fully competent to act without my coöperation.

If your lawyers think proper to prove that Mr. Hogan is no longer a Catholic Priest on account of his excommunication and therefore that his adherents are unjustly occupying St. Mary's Church, then indeed my sentiment on this matter might be of some weight. However after having confirmed your judgment in a public manner, I do really not know what more I could do. For to enter into a theological discussion on the justice of your sentence of excommunication, before a Protestant court, appears to me obvious to many difficulties.

For the lawyers of Mr. Hogan may bring forth, against you, a thousand texts of Canon Law, although irrelevant and even ridiculous, when applied to the present case; and so puzzle the judges about the decision of it, that they will not know what sentence to pronounce. However if you think it advantageous to the success of your cause, I should emit my judgment, not only in general terms as I did, but in a specific manner on any matter connected with the case, I beg you to state it to me in determined and limited forms. . . . For Ex., by queries to which you wish I should give answers, not

tanquam causam argumentis discutiens tantum; sed tanquam judex. For the point is not to prove the sanctity and justice of the laws of the Church, but their actual existence.

I remain respectfully

Your humble servant

+ AMB. A. B.

Such was probably the letter actually sent by the Archbishop. The following (likewise presented to the Catholic Archives of America by Miss Gartland), sounds like the first draft of an answer which the Archbishop may have withheld in despair of being able to cover all the points of the case without the determined form of question which he afterwards bespeaks. But the document is of interest as exhibiting the Archbishop's opinion on some phases of the matter.

BALTIMORE, 28 July, 1821.

Rt. Rev. and Dear Sir:

I returned here yesterday evening, after an absence of nearly three weeks. Among the multitude of letters which had accumulated whilst I was away, I remarked your last favour. I read it with attention and I hasten to give you a few words of answer.

I. It is a certain fact that in all the Dioceses of the United States the Bishops grant only to the priests, whom they think proper to employ, powers *revocable at will*.

II. It is equally certain that the Bishops can validly withdraw the powers from any of their priests as soon as they think his ministry is not useful to Religion; *a fortiori* when they have proof that he is an improper character.

III. That when an American Bishop withdraws the powers from a priest either because he thinks his ministry is not useful to his flock, or because he looks upon him as an improper clergyman, this latter cannot appeal to the Metropolitan. Because having freely accepted powers *revocable at will*, he cannot complain of any injustice done him if they be actually revoked.

Now, 1. Rev. Mr. Hogan received from Mr. De Barth powers only *revocable at will*. 2. They were validly revoked. 3. Notwithstanding this valid revocation, he dared to exercise his sacred ministry. 4. You admonished him to desist from this sacrilegious ministry and in case he should refuse you threatened him with excommunication. 5. Notwithstanding your admonitions and threats, he exercised his functions. 6. On account of this crime you excommunicated him. 7. This Excn. is manifestly just and conforms to Canon Law.

The foregoing document ends abruptly at this place; not being signed, it would hardly have been sent to Bishop Conwell. In the same Archives of America, Notre Dame University, there is another draft of a letter of the same date, referring to the proposition of Bishop Conwell for holding a Provincial Council :

“The only important point which could be discussed is the scandals of Philadelphia. But any decree formed by us would be treated by Hogan and his party with the same brutal impiety with which they treated our individual condemnation of his conduct.”

The document which still follows has been supposed to convey the Archbishop's opinion in other words; or was it the draft of an answer to that “determined form of questions?” The original is in the Library at Vincennes; the copy was supplied to the author by the late Rev. Edmond J. P. Schmidt, on October 5, 1900. (Father Schmidt, at the time, was an inmate of the Santa Rosa Infirmary, at San Antonio, Texas,)

An Opinion:

The court will interfere with the concerns of the Church only as far as they have relation to the Charter.

But the Charter being a grant from the State and a law of the State, it is the duty and right of the Court to see that it be faithfully observed, and considering that every act which

disregards the spirit and provisions of the Instrument is void and illegal, it will be declared to be so by the Court, and the Trustees will be made responsible for any abuse of their power. Should there be a body incorporated for a particular charity, and should the Trustees pervert the funds to other purposes, they would in that case violate the Charter. So should there be a Religious Incorporation for any particular Sect of Christians and if the Trustees should surrender or apply the funds to purposes of a different faith, they would be guilty of a breach of duty and trust. In the present case, the abuses of power charged on the Trustees are three. The first abuse is in shutting up the church until they could find a pastor whom they should think proper to appoint, to officiate therein, and in assuming a right and power to appoint a pastor, when no such right is given them by the Charter and when it is contrary to the very essence and principles of the Roman Catholic Church, for which the Charter has been granted, that the Trustees should exercise the power, which is exclusively vested in the Bishop or spiritual authority of the Church. The second abuse is in appointing or even admitting a pastor who was under the sentence of an actual censure or *suspension*, imposed by the competent authority of the Church, which disabled him from performing functions according to the special rules for the maintenance of order and discipline. But more especially in continuing him as pastor after he was *excommunicated* by the rights and canons of the Roman Catholic Church and (when) of course he could not be retained any longer as a Catholic priest. The third abuse is in ejecting the Bishop from a seat in the Board of Trustees, to which he is entitled by the Charter and the canons of the Church. All these charges relate to the Charter and may therefore be examined by the Courts of Justice; and a Charter was granted to maintain the faith and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, which is as binding on the Trustees as if the particular canons of the Church were specially set forth and enjoined in the Charter: for without them it is no longer a Roman Catholic Church, as the particular doctrines, discipline and ecclesiastical government distinguish it from all

other churches; which doctrines, &c., the Trustees have no authority to alter, and they cannot transfer the Church and pulpit, and pastoral duties and rights to a person who by the Roman Catholic faith and canons cannot be a pastor of the Roman Catholic Church, nor even who is not a member of it. And if such person is cut off from the Church by excommunication, he is as incapable of performing its pastoral duties as if he never belonged to it; for if they could give authority to such a person to officiate as pastor, by the same right they may make Bishops and introduce a priest from the Church of England or a Rabbi from the Jewish Synagogue. In short, by the same right they may destroy everything in the Church under the Charter guaranteeing the privileges of the Church and may reject in it everything pertaining to the faith intended to be maintained by the Charter. This is in direct violation of the law of the land, and in all such cases the Court would restore the rightful authority and put down the usurpation, which is the use of the charter.

QUESTIONS TO BE PROPOSED.

1. Have the lay Trustees a right *de jure* by the laws of the Church to shut or open the Church at pleasure? No.
2. May they suspend the Bishop & prevent him to officiate? No.
3. May they remove and appoint pastors at pleasure? No.
4. Was Mr. Hogan excommunicated by competent authority? Yes, he was, According to the canons? Yes.
5. Can an excommunicated person be made a pastor? No; and
6. Is it any longer the Roman Catholic Church when the ecclesiastical authority is thus prostrated? No.

These are questions for Catholic Doctors, to be juridically answered.

Can Trustees acting thus, as above, be removed? This is a question of delicacy, and it seems to me if their misconduct furnished a just and proper *cause for excommunication* and that they be duly excommunicated according to the rights of the

Church and that the excommunication be not a mere arbitrary act or proceeding with a view to this consequence, but for good causes which may afterwards be maintained and justified: I do not see how, after being thus cut off from the Church they can continue to hold its offices of power and trust. These ideas may furnish some useful hints.

N. B.—The Trustees have incurred the censure of Major Excommunication *ipso facto et etiam a sententia*, by the exercise of spiritual authority & sundry other causes, such as by applying the property of the Church to the support of an excommunicated priest.

(To be continued)

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THE REV. HENRY G. GANSS, MUS. DOC.

THE REVEREND HENRY G. GANSS, MUS. D.

On Christmas day one year ago Rev. Henry G. Ganss passed from time to eternity. His life of fifty-seven years was one of devotion to God's Church. Fitting then it is that we put on record a brief outline of that history. Lancaster, the place of his death was the home of his birth. There on February 22, 1855 he came to bless two practical Catholic parents. As a mere boy he went to Saint Joseph's parochial school of that same city. In his fifteenth year he entered Saint Vincent's College at Latrobe, Pennsylvania to prepare for the priesthood. He himself has left in manuscript a most interesting account of those six happy and holy years spent with the Benedictine Fathers. We will not even quote from that precious document hoping that later on the entire narrative will be published. All that we deem proper to state in this paper is that in 1876 Henry Ganss was graduated as Doctor of Music; and two years later was ordained to the priesthood. Harrisburg diocese was to be the field of his labors. He served three years at Lykens. Then Bishop Jeremiah Shanahan appointed him pastor of New Freedom, York County. Soon though he was transferred to the pastorate of Milton, Pennsylvania. The Church there had just been destroyed by fire. At once he started to work with a zeal that characterized him to the end of his ministry. His efforts were crowned with success. An edifice creditable to the parish and to the whole town stood there proclaiming the religion of Jesus Christ. After a fruitful service of nearly ten years, Father Ganss was transferred to Carlisle. Small though that new charge was, a great work awaited him there.

Not only did he have to minister to the wants of the regular congregation of St. Patrick's but in addition he had the difficult and delicate mission of caring for the Indians of the Carlisle Government School. We ourselves know how much anxiety that Indian problem caused him. The faith of those poor children of the forest was in constant danger at the school and also during the days of "the outing system". As shepherd of the flock he had to be ever on the watch lest the wolves come and steal away a lamb.

While caring for the spiritual wants of his people, he found time to remodel the old priest's house and to build a new Church in Carlisle. This Church is one of the Ecclesiastical gems of the Harrisburg diocese. Not only did he erect this Church, but by herculean efforts he also paid for the edifice, so that almost as soon as the building was completed, Bishop McGovern consecrated the same forever to the glory of God and the salvation of souls. For the benefit of the Indians of the Government and for the Negroes of the town, Father Ganss built St. Katherine's Hall. There the Indians assemble on Sunday before and after Mass for instruction. There the colored children may come during the week and receive a free education in the ordinary branches of learning and at the same time acquire a knowledge of the fundamental truths of Christianity. So dear were the Indians to Father Ganss, that for two years he interrupted the quiet of parish life for the sake of the red man. During this time he went from parish to parish in Philadelphia and New York collecting for the needs of the Catholic Indians. He pleaded specially in favor of The Indian Preservation Society and the Marquette League. His labors were fruitful. Before his return to Carlisle he was able to send to The Indian Bureau at Washington through these two societies about \$10,000.00 for distribution among the Indian Schools and Missions in the West.

Twenty years had endeared him to Carlisle, to Catholic and Protestant alike. When he departed for his new work and his last work in Lancaster, he took with him the prayers of his own parishioners and the best wishes of all citizens. His days in St. Mary's were few. Two short years—that was all the time he could give his chosen parish. It seemed as if God had granted him the great favor of coming home to die. He celebrated Mass at eight o'clock Christmas. Then assisted at High Mass. Between two and three o'clock in the afternoon the fatal stroke came. With the shadows of our Lord's own feast his earthly day closed, and we trust, his heavenly life began.

Besides the memorial, of ordinary parish duties well done, Father Ganss has written his name in literature and music. A short history of St. Patrick's Church, Carlisle—"Mariolatry"—a defense of the Mother of God against the charges of a local preacher, several pamphlets on Luther and the Reformation, Anglican Orders, Indian Questions, etc., claim him as their author. Articles from his pen appeared from time to time in "The American Ecclesiastical Review," "The American Catholic Quarterly," "The Catholic World," "The Messenger," "The Ave Maria." The Catholic Encyclopedia is indebted to him for the illuminating study of Luther.

His musical talent was not hidden in a napkin, but like his other gifts was used well for the glory of God. In 1875 he published "The Amaranth Waltzes". In 1889 came the charming waltz song—"Wouldn't you like to know?" That same year "His Banner of the Sea," a song for sailors, won from the United States Navy the prize among one hundred and forty-five competitors, from America, England, and Wales. He set to music the hymn, "Long Live the Pope." This has since been sung in twenty different languages, by many choirs, among others, by the Sistine Choir in Rome. His hymn "Faith of our Fathers"

is still popular with the Indians. In addition to numerous other hymns he has left us five Masses. His own Requiem Mass was sung over his mortal remains. Not knowing much about music ourselves, as Father Ganss himself once hinted, we prefer to quote in this matter a most capable critic.

“ Probably no man ever brought to bear upon the essence of music a keener intellect or a more speculative mental disposition. He was a master of what may be considered every practical aspect of music and an authority concerning the same. Yet, after years of critical research, his mind was ever wont to stand in awe of that mysterious and unsearchable something in music which ever drove the earnest mind into a sort of vague but conscious identification with the Supreme Ruler of the Universe. It was the habit of his mind to conceive music throughout the year of gathering a greater and greater emphasis as it approached the sacred season, when its climax of power was the union of all minds and classes in a devout acclaim of the birth of Christ.

“ At the bier of such a man none can escape the power of that awe which Dr. Ganss felt toward music and his Master; that awe which the simplicity, purity and majesty of his life inspired all who knew him as if it were the beauty of godliness itself.”

Only after the death of such a man do we begin to realize our loss. Whatever talents he had were employed in the cause of the Church. In his music, in his writing, in his conversations, and he was one of the most finished conversationalists we have ever met, in his sermons, in all his works, God was first and last.

What a comfort to study such a priestly life! What an inspiration his industry and his zeal have for us who have yet another day to labor in the Lord's vineyard!

L. A. D.

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

Revue des Questions Historiques. (April 1, 1914.)

Articles: Luther au couvent (1505-1517).

L'Histoire secrète du Comité de Salut public.

Charlotte Joaquine, reine de Portugal (1775-1830).

Mélanges: Deux récentes controverses (Paul Allard).

Essais sur quelques pamphlets ligueurs (Jean Gaillard).

The article on Luther's Augustinian phase is enlivened with touches of the perennial spice in his character and utterance, and also with firsthand report on the present aspect of Wittenberg and other landmarks in Luther's career. Germs of the future *Lucifer* in his developed actions are already patent amid the earliest inklings of his nature; and the contrast is most striking between Luther's pure Catholic ingredients, as it were, and their subsequent perversion into apostasy beyond reclaim. One thing stands out in bold relief till the crack of doom, a bad Catholic may become plastered with innumerable coats of good Protestant whitewash, and yet never be owned as fit consort for the elect of God.

"Two recent controversies" turn, first, on the "Alleged Martyrdom" of Christians at Lyons, A. D. 177; second, on the date of the *Labarum*, traditionally accepted as A. D. 312, latterly contested in behalf of A. D. 317 at the soonest. We had mentioned in a former number,

that Professor Thompson of Chicago undertook to set up a tower of destructive criticism against an "alleged" persecution of Christians at Lyons in the Second Century. It appeared, and it still appears, that the consensus of sound scholarship sustains the Catholic position without flinching or abatement; but since Professor Thompson was ingenious enough to build a tower of his own spontaneous findings, he has the dignity to defend his airy castle. Such, to be sure, the weather man has been sometimes known to pose: he predicted an imaginary tempest, and may more plausibly instruct the multitude, when his forecast stays unfulfilled, by rehearsing the reasons of his weather lore (meteorology, they technically term it), than by abashing himself and mortifying the multitude with the confession of his false deductions.

One gathers from the French reviewer's reiterated confutation of Chicago on Lyons, that whilst Chicago has indeed acknowledged Paris to be on "familiar ground" as regards Catholic history in France, only *Harnack*, pray note, that redoubtable higher critic at Berlin, the capital of Prussia, who had supported the Catholic position in this particular issue, is found wanting, at Chicago, in cognizance of Roman Law: therefore Harnack is unqualified to defend the "alleged" persecution and martyrdom at Lyons. Despite this flattering thrust at Berlin, as one should expect it to count in the atmosphere of Paris, the French critic gives no quarter to Chicago, now that the Lyons martyrdom has again been "constructively" effaced from Professor Thompson's tablets. He has "forgotten," says politely the Parisian reviewer, the many essential evidences in disproof of his theory; and forasmuch as Professor Thompson, in his second paper, omits to consider what evidences were already produced on the Catholic side, the actual texts in reference are newly cited for his attention, if he

will study or scan them. Every argument which was urged for the *spurious* import of the original letter in witness of the martyrdom, falls flat in the light of downright instances and corroborating testimony to the contrary; let alone the intrinsic accidents of style and setting which class the disputed letter where it consensively belongs in the Second Century, factitiously in the Third. Even, where Chicago reasons, *probably* this feature, or that, excludes a genuine Second Century custom or procedure, full knowledge reinforces those very objections into so much the weightier cause for an unbiased support of the letter as it stands. To the mere common mind, not least surprising in Professor Thompson's destructive argument, is the plea that a *glory* in martyrdom, a *furor passionis martyrum*, was foreign to Second Century Christians, and only of "acquired" habit in later times. Are we thereby to date also St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Stephen and St. James in the Third Century, the Fourth and still posthumous Yearhundreds of the Christian era? Chapters XI and XII of the Epistle of the Hebrews, too, were either not extant or not in practical circulation among the primitive Christians? All the profound liturgy of the Church from Septuagesima Sunday through Holy Week inclusively grew up in remote ages obtuse to the roots of martyrdom in the hearts and living faith of God's people since Abraham was? From all outward signs and their concomitant symptoms, the conjecture seems fairly broached, that Chicago did build a tower of wind, which solid verdicts need not so rudely demolish, after all, as rather tranquilly to recognize for a tower of wind, ever blowing where vanity best creates it. And such, in substance, is the Paris reviewer's calm concusion: "Il me paraît vraiment inutile de prolonger cette controverse. On se fatigue à discuter dans le vide. En contestant la date le l'épître des Églises de Lyon et de Vienne, M.

Thompson n'a fait que rendre cette date plus évidente. Et son intervention a eu ce résultat intéressant, d'amener un critique de la valeur de M. Harnack à se prononcer une fois de plus, dans le sens de l'histoire traditionnelle, et à déclarer que la relation reproduite par Eusèbe de l'épisode de plus célèbre de la persécution de Marc-Aurèle 'est et reste un témoignage véridique et frappant du plus ancien christianisme': *ist und bleibt ein wahrhaftiges und ergreifendes Zeugnis des ältesten Christentums.*"

Controversy the second, over the date of the *Labarum*, is hardly of so profound a consequence, though important in its way. Since 1903, certain critics: most notably, Mr. J. Maurice, would shift the origin of the *Labarum* from the generally accepted year, 312, to 317, on various inferential grounds, but specifically to square with the testimony of *numismatics*. In the new *Studi Romani, rivista di Archeologia e Storia*, (1913, fasc. II-III, pp. 161-186), Mr. Pio Franchi di Cavalieri, capably defends the older tradition. His French reviewer appears to agree with him, and would, at best, confine the numismatic argument to a secondary place in comparison with positive documents favoring the traditional date.

The article on Charlotte-Joaquine de Bourbon, Queen of Portugal (1775-1830), is not pleasant reading, in that Her Portuguese Majesty was of sinister temperament, and a forbidding character in the annals of selfish intrigue. Brilliant and shifty she proved in tackling adversities, but her dominating impulse was utterly selfish, at the cost of her own family, if those of her flesh and blood happened to cross her inflexible will. Her impassioned pursuit of her cherished ambitions yielded only to death; and in her case the severe moral would seem to be drawn, that even *Requiem aeternam* signified unwelcome penalty, not peace of soul.

Incidentally to Portugal, the same number of *Questions Historiques* notices a book by Angel Marvaud: *Le Portugal et ses Colonies*, Paris, 1912, 8°, 375 pp. While the work is described as treating the subject in its economic and political bearings chiefly, the author so far moralizes, as well, as to charge the nation with too stolid an indifference to its better destiny; which fault was not mended, but aggravated, by the recent blustering revolution, with its parade of spasmodic frenzy towards the Church among other permanent institutions that minister to national stability. The one potent source of national revival is believed to inhere in the still substantial Colonial domains of Portugal; which ought to serve for a rallying point of national enterprise, corrective of apathy.

Other book notices of particular appeal to Catholics touch on a "brief, accurate and accessible" biography of St. Charles Borromeo, by Léonce Céliér (Paris, 1912), and a personal tribute volume on *Louis Veuillot, l'homme, le lutteur, l'écrivain*.

A first instalment on *Donatism*, in a large *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu' à l'invasion arabe*, is commended because the author (Paul Monceaux), has portrayed St. Augustine in high relief and in quite masterful style, in the Donatist conflict.

Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, XI. 4, issue of January 23, 1914 (Teubner, Leipzig and Berlin) contains the topics: Der Minnesang als Standesdichtung. Die Populärphilosophie des florentiner Humanisten Coluccio Salutati. Nachbarschaften, Gilden, Zünfte und ihre Feste. (I.)

And under *Miszellen*: Fragen aus dem Gebiet der Naturwissenschaft gestellt von Friedrich II., dem Hohenstaufen. Die Geschichte der Hinterlassenschaft eines Tillyschen Offiziers.

All these titles connote respectable compartments in the *History of Civilization*; we select only the two strictly "popular" items (there is little of handy reference and everyday commodity cast in the *Populärphilosophie* of the Florentine Humanist Coluccio Salutati; at least as it is here surveyed). But we were disappointed in the treatment of "Neighborhoods, Guilds, Corporations and their Feasts," notwithstanding its attractive keynote: "Folk science is perforce opposed to a purely materialistic apprehension of history. . . . Rests joyously content with the purely social element." Perhaps, again, we too lightly considered *Archiv* in such connection; forgetting that "archives" are generally expected to mean something either countless fathoms too deep, or vast altitudes too high, for common entertainment. In fact, the "neighborhood" topic abounds in picturesque suggestions of one sort and another, and there is an opulent breadth of geographical range for its primitive Germanic background, both in and beyond the actual Fatherland. The trouble is, in a context of intimate community life and habits, one looked for pancakes in a preconceived mode of serving the same: say with some honey or Moselle wine thereto, and one great Paschal moon of a pancake to each plate (subject to repeated orders in season); whereas the pancakes, in a disquisitive archive style of serving, are outshoveled by the bushel or hundredweight over one's head and shoulders, leaving a sense of congestion or swamping, and no free play for the appetite in process or practice.

On the other hand, though it be a very expert archivist who penned the *Hinterlassenschaft eines Tillyschen Offiziers*, this testamentary article is a rare morsel of potential delight for those readers who relish the German quaint style in its *dero*, *dahero*, *bishero* and pompous Latinity cast of the Seventeenth Century, The testator

here concerned was an Irish nobleman who rendered valiant service in the armies of Tilly; who became his honorable and faithful executor when the officer, *Morgan Mac Swini von Fanit*, fell mortally wounded. Unfortunately for the surviving widow and a minor son, *Johann Martin Mac Swini*, the execution of the will met with manifold obstructions in the way of involved counter-claims; but the ensuing comedy for disinterested later perusers is every whit refreshing: a clever playwright might easily adapt it for a first-rate performance on its major theme, the soldier of fortune in the Thirty Years' War.

Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia, March number, 1814, exhibits its usual array of Spanish antiquarian articles, among which the paper on *Nuevas inscripciones romana y visigótica de Talaván y Mérida*, reproduces some interesting primitive epitaphs, with characteristic monograms and symbolism; and this March number is graced, besides, with a fine portrait of *Excmo. Sr. D. José Maria Salvador y Barrera*, Bishop of Madrid-Alcalá, newly elected member of the Spanish Royal Academy. At first glance, the portrait bears not a little resemblance to the general presence, or "type" features, at least, of Cardinal Gibbons.

Pertinently to Spain, *Revue Historique, fondée en 1876 par Gabriel Monod*, March-April number, 1914, has a thoroughly appreciative paper by *G. Desdèvises du Dezert* on *Les Jésuites de la province d'Aragon au XVIII^e. siècle*. He bases his article on a document in the Archives of Madrid bearing the succinct label: *Jésuites. Aragon. Lettres édifiantes*. 331 *Letters* (1701-1766) contain biographic sketches of 365 Religious, deceased in various convents of the Society in Aragon. "They introduce us to the intimate details of the monastery life, and afford to us, in respect to the ruling spirit of the same, informa-

tion of a veracity not to be impeached, if yet of a stamp, indeed, that is quite frankly apologetic." Some of the Religious thus commemorated were of the professed house at Madrid, one from the convent of Loyola, all the others were distributed through the Society's Colleges in Aragon, Catalonia, Majorca, Valencia. The *Letters* reflect the great power which the Society still wielded in Spain during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. When a Jesuit of the College of Cervera was once asked to supply some particulars on the life of a departed colleague, he tersely answered: "Scribenda facimus; facta non scribimus." Their main lines of activity were spiritual direction, preaching, teaching. The French writer (a Protestant, one may fairly suppose him) does willing justice to the heroic charity, fortitude and unswerving, indomitable earnestness of the Spanish Jesuits here discussed; his only bias, if any, is that of a scientific observer who may sincerely *admire* his depicted phenomena, and yet view them as in a world apart from his own mundane sphere. The *Letters* abruptly close in 1766; and on April 3, 1767, all the Jesuits in Spain were arrested by royal order, and shipped to Italy from the nearest port.

Revue de Paris, April 1, 1914, offers a gratifying account, by Abbé Augustin Sicard, of *La Paroisse à Paris*. This unit in the Church organism antedates the civil *commune*, and was familiar in Gaul before the Frankish Monarchy. In the country districts it had its nucleus alike in the private chapels of great landholders and in the monastic centres. In Paris we see the gradual subdivisions and multiplied extension of original mother churches like Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Germain-des-Prés, on Left Bank of the Seine; Saint-Martin-des-Champs and Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, on the Right Bank. In 1789, Paris counted 52 parishes, of which the most important were Saint-Sulpice, with 90,000 communicants,

and Saint-Eustache, with 80,000. Of course, there were clerical forces to correspond with these huge figures: in 1768, for instance, there were 80 priests at Saint-Eustache, 60 at Saint-Roch, 50 at Saint-Sulpice and Saint-Paul, 40 at Saint Gervais.

Contemporary Paris has 77 parishes in the interior of the city, and 93 outside the fortifications.

If the clergy are nowadays wretchedly underpaid, they are a body of priests who understand the principle, and faithfully apply it, of privation in the cause of immortal glory. Abbé Sicard considers his topic under six heads: formative period and retrospect; present conditions; schools and *patronages*; charities; practical devotions, catechetics, preaching; suburban expansion and special care of the working class.

The term *patronage* covers a diversified field of social and benevolent activities, and has its *Protestant* counterpart in Paris, as well as here, in the multitude of young people's leagues, associations and Christian confraternities. The parish life is shown to exert itself in the three leading directions of education, relief work and particular devotions.

The government of all this ramified faith and zeal is vested, of course, in the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, with his three Archdeacons of Notre Dame, Sainte-Genève and Saint-Denys. In short, the parish is a French institution with radical tenure, not soon to be dislodged. "Toujours", dit Taine du Catholicisme, "la sourde anxiété des cœurs tristes et tendres lui amènera des recrues, toujours l'antiquité de sa possession lui conservera des fidèles."

BOOK REVIEW

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.
Volume XII. 1913.

Oaks. There were many kinds of oak in the older pattern of school composition; such as the white oak, the red oak, the quercitron or black oak, the post oak, the swamp oak, the scrub oak, the blackjack, the scarlet oak, the Spanish or turkey track oak, the chestnut oak, the willow oak and live oak. There were also many other kinds of trees; to wit, the black gum and sweet gum, the cypress, magnolia, the persimmon, birch and beech trees. What is chiefly essential in a developed study of all these trees, is to keep the distinctions clear between black oak and red oak, and the same exhaustively. Certainly, this Journal of The American Irish Historical Society mirrors Hibernian types racily, and at once reminds us of the very large constituent of Irish brains, no less than of Mike's brawn, in the American Commonwealth. Indeed, the present volume is of national range in selection of topics; possibly the special feature contents converge upon Field Day affairs at Elmira, New York, on August 29, 1912, when a monument was unveiled to General Sullivan. But the Irish, again, were prominently concerned in the dedication of the Rochambeau monument at Marion village, Southington, Connecticut (June 30, 1912); since there had the French and Irish troops camped on their march from Newport to Yorktown. What seems to us of deeper than surface merit in an *Irish* American Historical Society inheres in its wholesome avoidance of caste walls between the various grades and walks of our huge population. Strictly professional historic societies, in Germany or out of it, sometimes appear to abstract their interests and condescensions too distantly from flesh and blood; but where the society is recruited on broad lines of race, men of widely diversified activities will mingle within purely human horizons. Church and State, Army and Navy, civilians of all ranks and pursuits, meet in a common council chamber to smoke affable peace pipes round and round the circle. Long life and ruddy health to the Irish American Historical Society.

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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THE FIRST THREE CATHOLIC CHURCHES IN ZANESVILLE, OHIO.

The following sketch of the first three Catholic churches in Zanesville, Ohio, was written more than one and twenty years ago by Robert J. J. Harkins of that city in response to questions in regard to Catholicity there in by-gone days. It is possible, indeed, that my request for his reminiscences of the early church of Zanesville, because prior to a similar request of a gentleman from the City of Brotherly Love, prevented the Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia from getting this history in the first days of the Society's existence. On March 18, 1893, shortly after the reception of his historical letter which appears below, Mr. Harkins wrote me: "I was called on a few days ago by a stranger, asking me to furnish him a history similar to that I had sent you. The Society for which he was acting belongs to Philadelphia and intends publishing a history of Catholicity." But the venerable octogenarian did not feel equal to another such task.

Robert J. J. Harkins was one of the earliest Catholics of Zanesville. He went there as a child with his mother

before the town had ever been visited by a Catholic priest. There, with the exception of his earliest childhood days and a few years spent in Somerset, Ohio, in the thirties of the last century, he lived his long life. He grew up with Zanesville's Church, was one of its first two altar boys, saw its birth and witnessed its progress for more than three-quarters of a century. Always an exemplary Catholic and a wide-awake citizen, he took a keen interest in the happenings, whether ecclesiastical or civil, of his adopted town. He retained this interest, a quick mind and a splendid memory to the end. For these reasons the editors of Zanesville, whenever they desired information on the early history of the town, never failed to have recourse to Mr. Harkins. In the files of the city's papers are to be found numerous articles of interest from his pen.

Mr. Harkins' history of the three successive Dominican Churches in his adopted town, although in letter form, is the most extensive and complete that has yet been written. As a token of affection for its author, a Catholic gentleman whom I knew and admired, and with whose friendship I was honored, it is now given to the reading public. As Saint John's and its anonymous predecessor were among the earliest Catholic Churches in the State of Ohio, and as Saint Thomas Aquinas' was a remarkable ecclesiastical structure for the mid-West at that time (it is still a fine church), their history should not lack interest for those at least who are concerned in the growth of Catholicity in the United States.

Although its author was eighty years of age at the time he wrote, the document is written in a clear, steady (indeed neat, lady-like) hand that would indicate half that age.¹ The corrections show a painstaking care to

¹ Robert John Joseph Harkins was born in Butler County, Pennsylvania, in the March, if I mistake not, of 1813, and died in Zanesville, Ohio, December 12, 1896.

give a correct account. The same is shown by his letters. Feb. 7, 1893, for instance, he writes: "I have just now, at half past eleven o'clock P. M. finished the task I undertook last November: that of writing the history of Catholicity in the early days in Zanesville. I send you the result of my labor and research, and hope it may not be fruitless." With the exception of the omission of two impertinent incidents and three irrelevant digressions, the document is given as it was written,—in the author's quaint style. Attention is called to these omissions in footnotes. In spite of his great care to be accurate, as happens to every one, my venerable correspondent's memory, particularly in regard to the long list of pastors, was at times at fault. These errors, as he himself requested, are corrected in footnotes. And for the sake of those who may desire such information, a number of biographical notes and other data are also added in the same manner.

V. F. O'DANIEL, O. P.

ZANESVILLE, OHIO, *February 7, 1893.*

To Revd. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P. St. Joseph's, Perry Co., Ohio.

In gathering the following statement of events in the early days of Catholicity, as well as the erection of the first Catholic Church in Zanesville, Muskingum County, Ohio, I have consulted all the living whom I thought knew anything on the subject, as well as examined every written or printed document I could find that related thereto, and with my own clear recollection of so many of those events, I have hopes to believe that this history will be as reliable and authentic as it is possible to write it at this remote period.

In 1817 John Simon Dugan came to Zanesville, Ohio, from Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and bought the

"Tavern" property on the northeast corner of Main and Fifth streets, known as the "*Green Tree*" Tavern. When he came here he found one family, William Colerick, his wife, three sons and one daughter. John Dugan's family consisted of himself, his wife and one son, Lewis Henry, yet living, now past eighty years of age. In February, 1818, my mother, a sister of John S. Dugan, whose husband died on his way home from the defence of our country in the war of 1812, with her large family of nine children (the writer being the youngest), arrived in Zanesville, thus adding more than one hundred per cent. to the number of Catholics in that town in February, 1818, the whole number being nineteen; and that was the number Father Nicholas Dominic Young found on his arrival.² In December, 1818, Father Edward Fenwick and Father Dominic Young came from St. Rose's in Ky. to Perry County to dedicate a Log Church which had been erected by the Catholic neighbors on land donated by the Dittoe and Finck families. The two priests arrived there on December 1st, 1818, and on the 6th of that month the dedication of the church to St. Joseph took place and Father Young was put in charge of it. *That was the first Catholic Church dedicated in Ohio,*³ in and about Somerset and through other portions of a laborious task; the roads, if trails only could be called roads, were all that led to settle-

² Mr. Harkins forgot to mention here Peter Dugan, his uncle, who arrived in Zanesville the summer of 1817, and who because of his sterling Catholicity, deserves honorable mention.

³ Father E. D. Fenwick's missionary visits to Ohio began in 1808, or 1810. The land on which the humble log church of Saint Joseph was built, was given, with the approbation of Bishop Flaget, in whose diocese Ohio was then included, to the Dominican Fathers, on the condition that their order would establish there at some future date a novitiate or college for the education of young men for the priesthood in that institute.

ments of those of the Faith, and either on foot or horseback the only means of transportation, so that Father Young's time was fully taken up in finding the faithful in that county, before he extended his search for those outside of it. In the year 1819,⁴ Father Dominic Young came to Zanesville, then but a small village comparatively, and found three Catholic families (who are named on this sheet) who had not seen a Catholic Minister since they lived here. To the "Green Tree" Tavern Father Young made his way, and announced who and what he was, was most cordially received and hospitably entertained by John S. Dugan and his most amiable wife. This too, was the welcome "home" of all the Priests who might chance to come to Zanesville for years. This "Green Tree" Tavern, at the time of Father Young's first coming to the town, consisted of a two-story frame building with its side to Main Street, and another two-story frame with its side to Fifth Street. In a room on the second floor of the building first named and which stood on the corner of the two streets, Father Nicholas Dominic Young, a *Dominican* Priest, offered, for the *first time in Zanesville*, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and there can be no doubt of it being the *first*. A bureau was dressed to serve as an "Altar"—and that I faintly recollect of seeing. I will remark here, that any one going to St. Thomas' Church, on Fifth Street from Main will pass the house that that Mass was offered up in. The house is in first-class condition today.⁵

When John S. Dugan and family arrived in Zanesville he found Mr. Colerick and family before named. Mrs.

⁴ It was in the spring of 1819 that Father Young made his first visit to Zanesville.

⁵ This tavern, I am told, has since been replaced by the Schultz Opera Block.

Colerick was a fine musician and a music teacher, and as such required a piano, and even at that early day had one, which, after St. John's Church was built, she used with great effect at the dedication. Mr. Colerick took the precaution to tell Mr. Dugan that if he expected to succeed in business here, he must not let it be known that he was a Catholic. Mr. Dugan replied, that while he would not publicly proclaim that he was a Catholic, yet he would not for an instant hesitate to declare his religious principles, when it became necessary to do so.

The question of a Church here was discussed by Father Young and Mr. Dugan as a means of inducing emigration to this point, as well as for other considerations; but how to get the means to build was a great trouble. This was in 1819, and Father Young could not say when he or any other Priest could visit the nineteen Catholics here, but hoped to do so soon.

In 1820 John S. Dugan bought a lot with a one-story brick warehouse on it, on the northeast corner of 5th Street and Locust Alley. This building was probably fifty feet long by twenty wide, and as soon as it could be, was fitted up and used as a Catholic Church, the *first* Catholic Church in Zanesville. In this building the first public celebration of Mass in Zanesville was offered up by Father Young in the presence of a few Catholics, but a large and "wondering" assemblage of what Father Young always called, when he preached, "*our dissenting brethren.*" In this same little building my cousin, Lewis Henry Dugan (the only child of John S. Dugan), and myself, were duly inducted as "Altar boys," and were the very first in Zanesville.⁶ There was no proscription

⁶This old landmark of Zanesville has been succeeded by a theatre of the moving picture type. But within its hallowed walls, in the summer of 1825, was baptized the city's first native priest, the Rev. John H. Lynch, O.P., a model clergyman and a splendid type of the old-time

among the people here in those days on account of religion, and the only thing that smacked of it, was among the schoolmates of my cousin and myself, who had seen us hold up the Chasuble, at the same time ringing the little bell at the Elevation. To jeer and mock us in this, they would slyly slip up to us and raise the rear part of our roundabouts and squeak: "tinkle, tinkle, tinkle," thus representing the ringing of the bell. This was borne with and soon died away. As Father Dominic could not leave his large congregation of St. Joseph's on the important festivals, especially Easter, the Catholics here who could find the means to go there to discharge their duties on that day, did so, either on horseback or in a carriage; in the latter John S. Dugan and family went there, and my sisters went on horses—a ride of about forty-eight miles over such roads as existed at that time.⁷

As hoped for and expected, the fact of a Catholic Church being established in Zanesville induced a rapid settlement of the faithful here, and soon the erection of a church large enough to accommodate the rapidly increasing numbers was talked about. As usual, the means were wanting to buy a lot as well as to erect the building. The subject was freely discussed, and as he was always in the front in all that pertained to the interest of Catholicity here, John S. Dugan bought and donated the lot that St. Thomas' Church stands on.⁸ This gave an impetus to the affair that was very encouraging, and subscriptions from the élite of our Protestant

missionary. After a fruitful priestly life of more than fifty years, much of which was spent in the city of his birth, he died in Zanesville, August 7, 1908, at the age of three and eighty years.

⁷ By "a ride of about forty-eight miles" Mr. Harkins means the journey to and from Saint Joseph's Church.

⁸ This is the present church of Saint Thomas which later (1842) succeeded to that of Saint John begun in 1823.

citizens in cash, as well as subscriptions in cash and labor from the Catholics were obtained in sufficient amount to build the foundations so the corner-stone could be, and was laid in the Spring of 1823. It took a good while to complete it, for it was not till 1827 that it was dedicated by Bishop Fenwick; and the first rental of pews took place on April 1, 1827, the charge for the choice locations being five dollars per quarter. Quite a number of Protestants rented and paid for pews in this, St. John's Church.⁹ In addition to the five dollars for pew rent, the Catholic pew-holders were charged seventy-five cents per quarter, and collected with the pew rent, to furnish wine, candles, fuel and other needed supplies for church uses. This was not charged against the Protestants. Among the pewholders in St. John's Church was "George Wilson" who was charged for wine, etc., and under the charge in the Pew account-book is this note: "Mr. Wilson became a member of our Church about the 25th of March, 1827." This is the George A. Wilson who became a Priest and offered the sacrifice of the Mass in the little church in which he paid his pew rent, and who in 1846 had risen to the dignified position of "Provincial of the Dominican Order,"¹⁰ and who in the early period

⁹The non-Catholics of Zanesville were doubtless attracted to Saint John's by the sermons of the fathers, some of whom—particularly Revs. N. D. Young, Stephen H. Montgomery and John A. Hill—were noted preachers in their day. Father Hill, indeed, deserves to be placed among the country's great pulpit orators.

¹⁰Father Wilson became provincial late in 1843. He was a native of Virginia and a convert from Methodism. Quite an interesting story is told of his conversion. He came to Zanesville as a young man, where, it is said, he was employed by Rev. Stephen H. Montgomery in the construction of Saint John's church. The young Virginian was given to the Southern habit of chewing tobacco, and like many who use that weed, was not always careful as to where he spat. One day, when he spat from the rising structure, Father Montgomery, who was standing below, caught the tobacco juice full in his eyes. The patience with

of his life as a Priest slept upon the naked bed cords in one of the vestry rooms connected with St. John's Church; which coming to the knowledge of some one in authority, the Provincial probably, was summarily stopped.

Father Stephen Hyacinth Montgomery was the first stationed Priest in Zanesville, coming here in 1826 and taking a very active part in finishing the little brick Church, and succeeded in doing all that was possible toward that object.¹¹ The Church was dedicated in 1827, but many things were needed for the proper observance of the ceremonies of the Church, and he set himself about procuring them. On April 27, 1828, he started ostensibly for Europe, but returned in time to make another start on June 1, 1828.¹² Wherever he went he returned with a bell, vestments and other things useful. Having no steeple on the Church there was no place to hang the bell; but by leaning two pieces of timber a few feet apart and a cross-piece near the top, in front and against the wall of the Church facing Fifth Street, a place was thus provided and the bell suspended from the cross-

which the good priest bore his great pain, and the readiness with which he pardoned the thoughtless offender, convinced Mr. Wilson that there must be no ordinary virtue in the religion that could inspire such heroism. He was thus led to study the claims of the Catholic Church, and shortly became one of its members.

¹¹ Prior to the arrival of Father S. H. Montgomery, as stated by Mr. Harkins, Zanesville was attended from Saint Joseph's, Perry County. From early in 1819 to early in 1822 it was attended exclusively by the co-apostle of Catholicity in Ohio, Rev. N. D. Young, whose labours through the state extended over a period of nearly half a century. But with the consecration of Bishop Fenwick in the January of 1822, other missionaries came to Saint Joseph's, and these doubtless shared with Father Young in the charge of Zanesville's church. The author of our letter knew them all, and often spoke to me about them.

¹² Father Montgomery went about this time on an extended tour through the east in behalf of his church in Zanesville.

piece, remaining there till 1829, when the steeple was built.

At the time Father Montgomery was absent, a Father Haines, an Irish secular Priest, was here, and gave the former a half promise to remain till his return. But being in very poor health and much dissatisfied with the country, he returned to Ireland before Father Montgomery got home.¹³ Before Father Haines started for Ireland, he went on a mission to Lancaster, Fairfield County, Ohio, taking my cousin, Lewis Henry Dugan (the son of John S. Dugan, the benefactor of St. John's Church here), with him to serve his Mass. They stopped at Mr. Hugh Boyle's, in whose house Mass was said. This Mr. Boyle was the father of Mrs. Ewing, the wife of Hon. Thomas Ewing, the elder, and grandfather of Gen. W. T. Sherman's wife, who shed so much luster on the Faith by her pious life before and after her marriage, and was rewarded by her son Thomas being called to the holy life of a Jesuit Priest.

The Church here was dedicated with imposing ceremonies, such as Father Young's "dissenting brethren" (and there were as many of them as could get into the Church that day) had never witnessed; and it was with wonder, astonishment and admiration they gazed at, to them, the "great show." The music was the theme of conversation for days afterwards by many of the citizens,

¹³At first I was inclined to believe that this Father Haines was the Rev. John T. Hynes. O.P., who was ordained by Bishop Fenwick at Saint Rose's, Springfield, Kentucky, in the February of 1822, and who later became a missionary in British Guiana, Bishop of Leros and Zante, the Ionian Islands, and finally Vicar-Apostolic of Demerara, British Guiana. But Mr. Harkins was most positive that the clergyman in Zanesville was a secular priest, and that his name was Haines. Harkins knew of the Dominican Father Hynes, but had never met him. Subsequent study has shown that Father J. T. Hynes was sent to Europe in behalf of the Diocese of Cincinnati prior to 1825, and that from Europe his superiors sent him (1825) to the missions of Guiana.

who had this, their first opportunity to listen to the music used in the Catholic service. It was a revelation to them, as they had been accustomed to hear "Old Hundred," "Mear," "Coronation," and other old-time psalm tunes, and deemed such the only church music. For want of an organ, Mrs. Colerick, the music teacher before spoken of, used the piano, and, being a fine performer, added greatly to the singing.

The first choir was organized for St. John's Church under Fr. S. H. Montgomery's auspices and was trained and instructed by Edward Flynn. The names of but three of that choir are in my memory now—Mary Fortune, Mary D. Harkins, George Mart. All dead.

The first organ used in St. John's Church was built by a Catholic here in 1831. It was built by "John Faust" who was the organist for many years. Feeling that he had discharged the duty long enough, he resigned, and his eldest daughter, Ellen, took his place and filled it well till she was married to Richard Henry Dugan (a cousin of mine) and moved from the town. Then the second daughter of Mr. Faust, Margaret took the place of organist and occupied it for a long time after her marriage to Mr. John Roberts (who became a convert), as they continued to live in Zanesville. From failing health and strength she was compelled to abandon the position, when her brother Charles, the youngest of the family, took her place and was organist in St. Thomas' as long as he remained in the city. The organ built by Mr. Faust was very much too small for St. Thomas' and it was sold to some one in Dresden, a town fourteen miles north of Zanesville, and was sold by *that* owner to the congregation of the Catholic Church in Newark, O., and possibly it is in use there yet.

The first stationed pastor in Zanesville was Father Stephen Hyacinth Montgomery who came in 1826, and

was without an assistant during his stay, unless the Father Haines before mentioned would be looked on as such. Fr. Richard Pius Miles (who was consecrated Bishop of Nashville on Sept. 16, 1838) succeeded Fr. Montgomery in 1829, and had for his assistant, Samuel Louis Montgomery. Father Charles P. Montgomery came in 1832 and was Father Miles' successor, having for his assistant Father Cubero. When in 1840 Fr. Montgomery was Provincial of the Dominicans, he went to St. Joseph's and Father Cubero also. Father Wilson was pastor after Father Montgomery, with Father Cubero as assistant. Father Wilson was Provincial in 1846, and attended the Sixth Provincial Council held at Baltimore, Md., on May 9th of that year.

In 1850 the bulls were issued to Revd. C. P. Montgomery appointing him Bishop of Monterey, of San Diego, Cal., but were declined; and on June 13, 1850, Father Alemany, who was in Rome then, was appointed, and consecrated by Cardinal Franson. (Shea's *His. of Cath. Church*, Vol. 4, page 356.) On Easter Monday, 1850, Father Montgomery was found dead in his bed in the parsonage in Zanesville, O. The day before he had preached in St. Thomas' and on Monday intended to go to Columbus, O., for the Holy Oils.¹⁴

¹⁴In his enumeration of pastors up to this point Mr. Harkins has fallen into some slight errors of date and fact, and has, possibly because of the short time they held office, omitted the names of two of Zanesville's notable early pastors, Revs. Joseph F. Jurboe and John A. Bokel. Rev. Richard P. Miles was sent to Zanesville late in 1828, and Father Samuel L. Montgomery became his assistant shortly afterwards. Rev. Charles D. Montgomery did not go to Zanesville until late in the May of 1833, when Father Miles had become prior of Saint Rose's, Springfield, Kentucky. In the summer of 1835 C. D. Montgomery returned to Kentucky and was succeeded in the pastorate of Saint John's by Rev. J. T. Jurboe. When, nearly a year later, Father Jurboe became prior of Saint Rose's, Montgomery was appointed pastor of Zanesville for the second time, retaining the office until his election as provincial

Father Jarboe succeeded Fr. Montgomery and had Father Fortune for assistant. Father Edlin [Edelen] followed Father Jarboe, and had Father Cady for assistant. (This was the first time Father Edelin [Edelen] was stationed in Zanesville.) Father Egan came after Edelen, with Father Lynch for assistant. Father Coll came after Fr. Egan with Fr. Lynch for assistant. Fr. Bokel served by one year and resigned. Father Dunn came next and he resigned in one year. (Father Raymond Young was pastor for a short period in the early part of one year, but I have forgotten the year.) Father Kent succeeded Fr. Dunn and had for assistants Father Metzger and Father George Collins; the latter was an invalid, but discharged some share of the duties. Father Slinger succeeded Fr. Kent, and remained four years; had for assistants Fr. Lynch and Fr. Toll [Towl] (the latter for a short period). Father Quinn succeeded Fr. Slinger and had for assistants Frs. Lynch and Brewer. Father Quinn remained three years, leaving in January, 1893. Father Ryan was assistant for a short period after Fr. Quinn arrived here.¹⁵

in the fall of 1838. Rev. G. A. J. Wilson then became pastor of Saint John's. He, too, retained the position until he became provincial late in 1843. Father Montgomery succeeded Wilson in the charge of Zanesville Church, remaining there until his death. But in the October of 1857 he resigned the pastorate because of ill health, and was succeeded by Rev. J. N. Bokel. Some two years later Father Bokel was called to another field of labor. Father Montgomery then became pastor for the fourth time, and died as such, April 16, 1860. Rev. Francis Cubero did not come to the United States until late in 1839, or in the first half of 1840. He could not, therefore, have been an assistant to Father C. D. Montgomery in Zanesville during the latter's first two terms as pastor there. Cubero was with him however nearly all the time from 1843 until his (Montgomery's) death more than sixteen years later. If space permitted, a sketch of these early priests of Zanesville would lack neither in interest nor edification.

¹⁵ My venerable correspondent's memory of later events was not so true as it was in regard to those of earlier date. His list of pastors is

In addition to the names of the pastors and assistants

not quite complete, and his chronology is slightly at fault. For these reasons, I shall follow his suggestions and correct his errors, using for that purpose the archives of the province, the Catholic directories, a Latin sketch of Saint Thomas' church by Rev. Stephen Byrne, O.P., the memory of the older fathers, and lastly, though not least, notes from the baptismal records of Zanesville kindly furnished by the Rev. J. P. Roach, O.P.

Rev. Joseph T. Jurboe became pastor in Zanesville the second time in the May of 1860. But, with the permission of his superiors and at the earnest solicitation of higher ecclesiastical authority, he resigned his place the following year to become a chaplain for the Catholics in the Southern army. Rev. N. R. Young succeeded Father Jurboe in the September of 1861, and was pastor until in November, 1862, when he became provincial. His successor was Rev. Francis J. Dunn (later provincial) who remained from November, 1862, until the same month or October in 1865. Rev. Bernard A. Brady was pastor from October or November, 1865, until November, 1869. Rev. J. V. Edelen (Preacher-General) succeeded Father Brady in November, 1869, and remained until the May of 1872, when he went to Somerset to be procurator of the converts there. Rev. Stephen Byrne (afterwards provincial) was pastor from May, 1872, until in the October of the following year. Rev. C. C. Egan succeeded Father Byrne, October, 1873, retaining the position until his election as prior of Saint Rose's Convent, Springfield, Kentucky, April, 1876. Rev. J. V. Edelen was pastor again from April, 1876, until in October of the following year. Rev. Peter C. Coll succeeded Edelen the same month, and was pastor until October, 1880. Rev. J. A. Bokel then held the position for the second time from October, 1880, until his resignation in November the next year, when Rev. J. F. Dunn became his successor. Father Dunn was succeeded by Rev. John C. Kent, May, 1883. Three years later, May, 1886, Rev. Joseph H. Slinger became pastor of Saint Thomas'; and in the May of 1890 he in turn was replaced by Rev. William Quinn, who was pastor at the time our history was begun.

The list of pastors from that to the present day includes the following names and dates. Father Quinn was elected prior of Saint Rose's, in Kentucky, late in 1892. He was succeeded by Rev. Eugene V. Flood in January, 1893. Father Flood, owing to ill health, resigned in the July of the next year. Rev. S. F. McGovern then held the position temporarily until the appointment of Rev. L. F. Kearney, S.T.M., December 1, 1894. In the October of 1897 Father Kearney was elected provincial, and Rev. J. C. Kent was again appointed pastor in Zanesville on December 27, that year. Rev. E. J. Farmer succeeded Father Kent, February 26, 1901, holding the office until the same date in 1907.

as given above, it is stated in Father Edelen's case that "this was the first time he was stationed in Zanesville;" from here he went to Memphis, Tenn., in 1873, during the prevalence of the yellow fever there, as a volunteer: to that field of death where so many of St. Dominic's sons gave their lives for the Faith. He escaped the scourge and returned to Zanesville as pastor, and on Sept. 3, 1874, organized the Purgatorial Society, which still exists in St. Thomas' congregation. This last was the *second time* he was stationed there, but the date of his return I have forgotten.¹⁶

Another case of forgetfulness is that of Father Brady, who was here as pastor for several years. My impression is he came here in 1867 and remained till 1873 or 1874, and had for his assistants Father Adams and Father Lynch. The first named stayed but a little time, and Father Cady became assistant in his place, Fr. Lynch remaining too. . . . In Father Montgomery's case, he vibrated so much between Zanesville and St. Joseph's, it is hard to decide where he really was "at home" sometimes. We find him in 1837 here; in 1840, when he became provincial, St. Joseph's was his home; in 1842 he is busy here superintending the erection of St. Thomas' church. At other times he was delivering lectures in

Rev. John A. Shiel was pastor from that date until his election as prior in Minneapolis, Minn., March 27, 1911. Three days later Very Rev. L. F. Kearney, the present incumbent, was appointed to the office for the second time.

¹⁶ For the dates of Father Edelen's pastorship see the preceding footnote. When he so heroically offered his services to the sufferers of Memphis, he was not stationed at Zanesville, but at Saint Joseph's Priory, Somerset. The same year two others of the former clergymen of Zanesville showed equal heroism in the cause of the stricken Southern city by going there while the fever was at its height. One of them, Rev. Thomas Cady, escaped unhurt, but the other, Rev. George R. Daily, fell a victim of his zeal, September 3, 1873.

Holy Trinity church in Somerset, and so he kept up his busy habits.¹⁷

Right here I wish to insert the following statement from under the hand of our present assistant priest, Father J. H. Lynch, O.P. Before I record his statement I beg to say that, when the erection of St. Thomas' was determined on, the expenses in anticipation were appalling, and how to decrease them a matter of importance. That it was to be of "brick" went without saying, and the many thousands required would cost many dollars. How to get the dollars! In the midst of this troublesome problem a most exemplary citizen of Quaker descent, one I knew very well, went to Fr. Montgomery with the following result, as given by Fr. Lynch:

"John C. Howard came to Father Montgomery and said to him, I am willing to give something to your church, but I have no money. I have a place two miles down the river where there is good building stone. You can have all you want for your new church. Father Montgomery accepted this offer, and John C. Howard should not be forgotten. Dec. 21, 1892." Here was a windfall as unexpected as great, and lessened the expense in the construction of this fine church very materially.

Another thing in connection with this opportune donation I wish to mention, is that the prevailing idea at the time it was made (and is to this day in the minds of many) was that it was made by another person. No pains were taken then nor since to correct this error, till now; the correction is seen on this sheet, and I hope it

¹⁷ For the period of Father Brady's pastorship see footnote 16; and for the various times when Rev. C. S. Montgomery held the same post of honor in Zanesville see footnote 14. I omitted from this paragraph, as impertinent to our history, Mr. Harkin's suggestions of the means for correcting any errors into which he might have fallen. These very means, as noted in footnote 15, were used with a measure of success.

may find light in the future. As a personal and long-time friend of John C. Howard, I offer to his memory (for he has been dead many years) my sincere and heartfelt thanks for his munificent donation. Until Fr. Lynch wrote and handed me the above statement, I thought the stone had been given by another person, and have been living with that belief for more than fifty years.

The tearing down of St. John's Church was done in the fall of 1841; and early in 1842 the construction of the foundation of St. Thomas' began, and by the 17th of March, 1842, the corner-stone was laid by Bishop R. P. Miles, of Nashville, Tenn. A long time was required to get it under roof, as collections were slow and subscriptions on a par with the collections.¹⁸ Father Wilson was in Europe collecting for it, and there was scarcely a foot of Ireland that he was not in on the same errand. While the church was creeping slowly up, the congregation had to be satisfied to use a hall in an alley a short distance from Main Street known then as "Blocksome Hall," which is standing yet, but used ever since for other uses than as a Catholic Church.

I will say here, that there is a small frame church in Tylorsville, called St. Ann's (this town is nine miles south of Zanesville on the Muskingum river), which has parts of St. John's Church in its walls. The window-sash and the frames, the doors and door-frames, were once parts of St. John's; the bell, too, is the one Father

¹⁸ The first mass was said in the basement on the Christmas morning of 1842. A correspondent of the *Freeman's Journal* who was present on this occasion, writing from Zanesville, December 29, 1842, tells us that Saint Thomas's Church was finer than any temple of Catholic worship then in New York or Philadelphia. (*Freeman's Journal*, January 21, 1843). But, owing to the lack of means, the upper church could not be dedicated until 1854. Rev. C. P. Montgomery is said to have been practically the architect, and he was entrusted with the construction of the church from the beginning to the end.

Stephen H. Montgomery got on one of his trips to Europe, and is now in use in the cupola of St. Ann's. . . .¹⁹

In 1829 I was one day standing on the pavement in front of the store where I was employed, when my attention was called to a man walking and leading a horse in the middle of Main Street. The appearance of the man was strange, being very thin in flesh, his face pale, his eyes very black and sparkling, his face covered with a very black beard of at least a week's growth, which gave his face a paler hue, as if by contrast. He was looking from side to side of the street as he came, and soon came to me and asked me in a very gentle, kindly voice, to hold his horse till he went into the tobacco shop and got some snuff. He soon came out and thanked me, took his horse and pursued his way down the street till arriving at Fifth Street, when he turned north and was lost to my view. I was much interested in the traveler with the pale face and black beard, whose kindly manner had favorably impressed me, and I would have been gratified if I could have known who he was. I was not long in the dark as to who he was, for the Sunday following he occupied the pulpit in St. John's Catholic Church here. It was Fr. O'Leary of holy memory, that saintly man whose remains were buried under the present St. Joseph's Church, and where his dust remains at this moment, unless transported to the new burial place for priests there.²⁰

¹⁹ Saint Ann's was one of the many missions which the Dominican Fathers long attended in Ohio. I have here omitted a rather lengthy account of an insult which some prankish boys offered Bishop Purcell, while that prelate was on his way from Zanesville to Saint Ann's. It formed no part of the history of the church in Zanesville.

²⁰ The memory of Rev. Daniel J. O'Leary is still cherished in Ohio as that of a saint. There are reports of miracles performed at his grave. He died February 8, 1835.

When Father Montgomery arrived here, there was living here a young man by the name of Thomson, who was a very great friend of the Catholics, and was especially fond of the genial Father Miles, and soon made the acquaintance of Fr. Montgomery. This young man was a most desperate "wag," who endeavored to, and did, get fun out of everything that came his way that would furnish it. He told this adventure as happening when Fr. Montgomery and himself were going to a funeral, the first Fr. Montgomery attended on coming here. He and Mr. Thomson were in a buggy in advance of the hearse; something scared the horses in the hearse and they ran off, tearing past the buggy at a fearful rate, which scared the horse in the buggy and he too ran off, following the hearse. The rapid rate they were going alarmed Fr. Montgomery and he said: "Mr. Thomson, is this not a rapid rate, a fearful speed, to go to a funeral?" This reply came quick from Mr. Thomson: "The rule in this town is for the preacher to keep up with the corpse, if he can!" It is needless to say that ever after Fr. Montgomery had a safe horse to drive to a funeral.

Father Cubero came to Zanesville many years ago and found much trouble in mastering the English language so as to make himself understood, but succeeded fairly well before he left us for good. But there was one element he failed to master. Try as he would, he failed to master or even understand it. That was the Irish element in St. Thomas' congregation. They composed the largest portion of it, and were as good Christians at heart as any other part of it, but their ways of doing things at their homes were not in accordance with the views of Fr. Cubero, and he set out to correct them. Fruitless task for him. "A man's house is his castle," and his privileges in it are supreme; and there the disagreement sprang up between the Spanish and the Irish blood.

His parishioners kept him in hot water continuously, and he scolded at a furious rate when he got in the pulpit, and it became so much his habit to scold that it became "chronic" with him, so he did more scolding than preaching. Nevertheless, when he was about to leave, a great many of those of the congregation who had "irritated" him so often and so severely called on him to bid him good-bye. Being behind a couple of those he had so often "salted," who were on their way to bid him farewell, one said: "Mike, hasn't he bin scolding us hot and heavy ever since he's been here?" "Arrah, be aisy," says Mike, "It's all right; what wud we ha bin if he hadn't scolded us?"²¹

. . . .²² Father Wilson served several years here either as pastor or assistant, and was a most zealous worker. He became at one time almost a monomaniac on the subject of temperance, and did everything in his power to bring all the congregation of St. Thomas' to the same view of that subject that he had. His views were very radical, claiming that there was little hope of future salvation for one who indulged in intoxicants, and their only safety was "total abstinence." He battled on this theme many months, bringing on many personal controversies, in which he found many of the congregation belonged to a "stiff-necked" generation, and who did not propose to fetter themselves by binding obligations on the subject of temperance, claiming that they were as temperate without as they would be if bound by a society. This part of the congregation gave him much trouble, and he spared neither pains or labor to bring them into the "fold," but with little success. . . .²³

²¹ Father Cubero belonged to the type of the rigid Spaniard.

²² A ludicrous experience which Father G. A. J. Wilson once had with some small boys because of a bobtailed horse he was riding, is here omitted.

²³ Another ludicrous experience of Father Wilson with a drunken man

St. John's church was built in the form of a cross, the vestry rooms being outside and formed the arms of the cross. The floors in these rooms were much lower than that of the sanctuary, requiring five steps to reach it, making it very unhandy in many cases. The church was 80 feet long, and as the lot was 132, there were 52 feet of ground left, which was used as a burial place till it was filled full. When the cemetery east of the city had been purchased, the remains in the church lot were removed to the cemetery. Much confusion arose on removing the remains. Those who knew their own lots in the church burial place had no trouble, but there were many whose relatives were buried there who had lost all recollection of the locality of their lots, and nothing could be done but to gather the bones and put them in boxes made for the purpose and bury them in the cemetery, which was done.²⁴

A few years after the completion of St. John's Church, from some now forgotten reason, a German priest came here to supply the pastor's absence. The methods of this German were productive of much scandal and commotion, not only among the congregation but among the community at large. His apparent object was "to put money in his purse" by charging for his services as a priest; and every duty he discharged had to be specially paid for. Every one wishing to go to communion had to *pay him 25 cents for a ticket* before they had the privilege. These things caused a terrible scandal and were the talk of the town. A prominent member of the

in Zanesville is omitted in this place. While it is true that Father Wilson was quite pronounced in his views on temperance, it is undeniable history that he did much good in that cause, and that in his efforts to put down drink he had the earnest support of Bishop Purcell.

²⁴The portion of Harkins's letter omitted at this place is an argument to prove that all the bones were removed from the graveyard that was once a part of the site of the present Saint Thomas' church.

congregation, Wm. McCaddon (a convert), sent a statement of this scandal to Bishop Fenwick, which probably did not reach him, as no reply was made to it; and a second time Mr. McCaddon addressed him, producing good results, for the avaricious priest was driven away at once, and nothing more was ever heard of the Priest Vogeler. This is one of my cousin Lewis Henry Dugan's reminiscences. Father Lynch says that in 1851 Bishop Fenwick ordained a German priest in St. John's Church here, who he thinks went to South America. His name was Allamonde.²⁵

. . . .²⁶ There are many other things I could record in connection with St. Thomas' Church and its many pastors and assistants, but my history has been spun out to such great length that I fear the task of reading it will interfere with you in reading your office. But I will add that the first plastering Fr. Montgomery had put on the walls of St. Thomas' was plaster Paris, which did not stay long. He soon found it on the floor, and it was

²⁵ A German priest by the name of Vogler was sent to Zanesville in 1840 by Bishop Purcell to take charge of the Catholics of that nationality in and about the city. He stayed with the fathers but did not remain long. Doubtless he was the clergyman of whom Mr. Harkins speaks here. I have found no further mention of his name. I am inclined to believe that Rev. "Allamonde" was Father J. G. A. Alleman, O.P., who was ordained by Bishop Purcell in Saint John's Church, Zanesville, June 1, 1834, and who later became a noted missionary along the upper Mississippi.

²⁶ We have omitted in this place quite a long argument in which Mr. Harkins, following an erroneous opinion of John Gilmary Shea (*Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 334-335), attempts to show that Bishop Flaget, and not Father E. D. Fenwick, the Dominican, said the first mass in Perry county, Ohio. Harkins himself retracted this statement later. My venerable correspondent, in the portion of his letter omitted here, shows quite conclusively that Rev. S. T. Badin did not, as some have thought, say the first mass in Zanesville in the fall of 1812, unless he said it in the home of some non-Catholic,—quite an improbable thing. There were no Catholics in Zanesville at that date.

wheeled out. The second attempt "stuck," and is still there yet. This last was put on June or July, 1851. The church was consecrated by Bishop Purcell on December 14, 1854. Any one going into the vestry room on the north side of St. Thomas' will see a marble slab in the wall with the name of Wm. Mattingly on it, testifying that he was a benefactor to the church. He was, and at an opportune time, for the walls were bare and services had to be held in the basement till the upstairs was finished; and where on this earth to get money to pay for the work addled the brains of Father Montgomery. Mr. Mattingly furnished three thousand dollars to finish the *upstairs*; and after a little while he paid twelve hundred dollars for the fine bell that hangs in the steeple. This information I received from his stepson.²⁷ I might mention in connection with the name of the above Mr. Mattingly, that on one occasion, when Father Dominic Young was on the mission to Zanesville and the Sapp settlement in Knox County, O., he visited this Mr. Mattingly, en route, who lived about seven miles northwest of Zanesville, and that I went with him (Fr. Dominic) to serve his Mass. That was many years ago, and after I had learned at St. Joseph's to serve Mass. . . .²⁸

In calling to mind and writing their names since I have begun these pages, I find that I have been personally acquainted with *seventy-eight* bishops and priests during my pilgrimage.

²⁷ The memory of John S. Dugan, John C. Howard and William Mattingly should be cherished by the Catholics of Zanesville. They were real benefactors of the city's early Church.

²⁸ Mr. Harkins records here how Bishop Purcell gained possession of and consecrated a consecrated host which a former soldier in the war with Mexico had brought home with him, and tells of a gold rosary which another ex-soldier had brought from the same country to Perry county, Ohio. This part of the narrative was omitted because in no wise pertinent to the history of the Church in Zanesville.

With the hope that some benefit may be derived by some one from the perusal of these pages, over which I have spent many hours in preparing, I humbly submit them, asking indulgence for any inaccuracies that may be in them.

ROBERT JOHN JOSEPH HARKINS.²⁹

²⁹ It is regrettable that Mr. Harkins did not give his reminiscences of Saint Thomas Aquinas' splendid parochial school in which he always took a keen interest. It was started some sixty years ago by Father Charles P. Montgomery, to whom the Church in Zanesville owes so much, and from the beginning has been regarded as a model parish school. The Academy of Saint Columba which was for some years conducted by the Sisters of Saint Dominic along with the school, has been long discontinued. . .

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER IX

THE TRUSTEES PREPARE FOR THE ELECTION OF 1822.
BISHOP ENGLAND ENDEAVORS TO RESTORE PEACE.
TRIAL OF HOGAN FOR AN ALLEGED ASSAULT ON MARY
CONNELL.

On August 6, 1821, the Trustees began to work for the prosperity of their faction in electing successors for the new Board in April, 1822. They were guided by the precedent of packing the pewholders; a device already tried pending the variance between Bishop Egan and Father Harold. Messrs. Ashley, Connell, Doyle and Strahan, were named as committee to report what number of new pews might be needed to accommodate the congregation. A week later they reported in favor of fourteen, in the body of the church. On August 27, Strahan submitted plans "for enlarging and improving the church;" and his motion was adopted. Mr. Strahan was himself the carpenter; the new pews were installed, and on September 24 they were let to Roger Kaines, C. Lanagan, David Enit, Michael Carroll, Joseph Harrison, George Rival, Florence Sullivan, W. Bowles, John Lacare, Edward Cronin, Bartholomew Clare, Hugh Lynch, John Duffy, and James Crowley. One may well guess they were all Hoganites. Each pew had seats for

five, and every holder of a seat was entitled to vote; so that seventy votes were thus controlled.

By way of passing chronicle, we observe that on August 19, 1821, the Rev. John Twomy, from County Kerry, preached in Irish at St. Augustine's; whereas Hogan smartly resented an unauthorized advertisement that he would do likewise at St. Mary's. In September of 1821, Bishop Conwell went on a pastoral visitation of the diocese, going so far afield as Conewago.

On Saturday morning, September 1, Bishop England of Charleston reached Philadelphia, and from his diary we learn:

"I then saw Rev. Mr. Cooper and some other clergymen who wished me to preach the next day. I declined, as the Bishop was not at home, and I was not sufficiently acquainted with the foundation of the divisions which agitated the church. The Rev. Mr. Hogan having been placed in possession of the church of St. Mary's, which was taken away from the Bishop by the Trustees and given to him, he having been told by the Bishop that he either withdrew his faculties or suspended him, the Bishop then placed the church under interdict and excommunicated Mr. Hogan, who continued to officiate. I left Philadelphia with Mr. Creagh."

Though the Bishop of Charleston had been but a few hours in Philadelphia, Hogan learned of his presence and of his departure for New York, whither Hogan followed him, hoping to win his personal support.

Bishop England's diary notes under September 5:

"Had an interview with the Rev. Anthony O'Hannan, late of the Diocese of Limerick, who as I was informed in Philadelphia was about to join Revd. Wm. Hogan, and in conjunction with a Mr. Spring of this town to open an Academy in Philadelphia, which I thought if effected would be the complete ruin of Catholicity in that city.

Mr. Hannan satisfied me of the correctness of his moral conduct since his arrival in America, proved to me that was he disposed to join in Schism, he might have done so with great profit, and that he was attached to Rev. Wm. Hogan with gratitude well earned and private affection, but only did not join in Schism, but did his utmost to prevent its evils, though oppressed by those who charged him with aiding and abetting what he did his utmost to restrain. He then mentioned to me that Revd. Wm. Hogan had followed me from Philadelphia to look for my advice, and entreated an interview, which I joyfully gave.

“Revd. Wm. Hogan in a confidential conversation of some hours’ continuance gave me a detail of his case and feelings and dispositions, which ended by his pledging himself altogether to abide by my decision, if Dr. Conwell should be prevailed upon to leave the examination of the case to me. I thought from his manner, statement and the sentiments which he expressed, as well as from the solemn pledges he made me, that if the Bishop did allow me to investigate and determine the case, I should be able to destroy a growing Schism, and to restore peace to the Church. I wrote to this effect to Bishop Conwell and intreated the necessary powers, and at the request of Revd. Wm. Hogan, whom I wished to bind to me by kindness as well as from a confidence in his own principles, I received the Revd. A. O’Hannan into my Diocese.” (*Item*, September 6): “I, upon the declaration of my friend Rev. J. Power, that he had now the regular papers of Revd. A. O’Hannan, which were at his place in the country, too far to allow them to be brought to me, gave Mr. O’Hannan the necessary testimonials of his being a Priest of my Diocese, the letter to Bishop Conwell, and a copy of the powers I required, telling him to go to Philadelphia with Mr. Hogan and to

ask Dr. Conwell and bring me his answer, giving him a private instruction to try and prevail upon Revd. Wm. Hogan to desist from officiating.

(*September 9*): "Rev. Mr. Power received a letter from Revd. Wm. Hogan stating that on their way to Philadelphia the trunk, in which Mr. Hannan's papers were, was accidentally broken and the papers were lost, and requesting a renewal of them. This letter contained a repetition of Mr. Hogan's determination to abide by my decision. I renewed the papers and sent them.

(*September 10*): "Received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hannan stating that the letters, etc., were found and opened by Rev. Mr. Cooper, notwithstanding his declaration that the letter was a private one from me to the Bishop. I subsequently received several communications from Philadelphia, all concurring in the statement that great confusion prevailed in that city, and that several persons asserted that I was to support Mr. Hogan against the Bishop. Revd. Mr. O'Hannan returned to New York without having been able to discover where the Bishop was, but after a few days I received a letter from Revd. Wm. Hogan stating that the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan could now find the Bishop at Conewago if he went, upon which I again sent Revd. Mr. O'Hannan to Philadelphia, but he returned without success. I learned from several sources that upon his first visit Mr. O'Hannan appeared in a surplice in St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia, whilst Mr. Hogan officiated, and therefore I could not give him leave to celebrate Mass. I consulted the Bishop of New York, who promised to transmit to Rome an Italian translation of a Latin letter which I sent to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda upon the subject of the Schism in Philadelphia. After the second return of the Revd. Mr. O'Hannan I received a letter signed 'a warm friend to the party,' informing me that a woman

had made a charge upon Revd. Mr. Hogan of his having attempted violence upon her, during the time of Mr. Hannan's stay, and requesting his return to disprove the charge. I spoke upon the subject with Revd. Messrs. Power and O'Hannan, the latter of whom recounted the facts, as he attested they took place, in such a way as to induce Mr. Power and me to believe that a plot had been contrived to injure Mr. Hogan's character,¹ and that this woman was the agent of the conspirators, whoever they might be, but Mr. Hannan showed great reluctance to go, and alleged his fears lest his own character might be brought into question. However, I insisted upon his departure for Philadelphia."

On *September 27*, the Trustees appointed a committee consisting of Messrs. Leamy, Ashley and Fagan to wait upon Bishop England on his arrival, "to solicit his good offices in reconciling the differences." In October, Bishop Conwell undertook a journey to Canada to secure Ursuline nuns for an establishment in Philadelphia, and for the further purpose of collecting money to enlarge St. Joseph's. On October 13 he wrote to Archbishop Maréchal from New York, saying that he had been in that city "since Wednesday" (October 10), and that Bishop England had called on him, and was "anxious to get the author of the charges of immorality against Hogan to revise the charges so that he might if possible declare him to have been persecuted by the world and could then absolve him. I gave him power to that effect, on condition of his retiring forever from Philadelphia and of living with him for a time and of doing penance, and of publicly condemning his infamous pamphlet in print. This put an end to the further discussion of that business." Of the scandals in Philadelphia he writes: "On Saturday night Hogan and Hannan were detected with females in Hogan's house; the woman was arrested.

The rumors give Bishop England much uneasiness on account of his interference, for which he was much censured."

We quote again from Bishop England's diary :

"October 10. Learning that Dr. Conwell, the Bishop of Philadelphia, was in New York, I called on him at Mrs. Connolly's, and had a long explanation to satisfy him of the object of my proposal of interference, but he declined giving me any power save of receiving Revd. Wm. Hogan into my Diocess, and absolving him from censures did he come. The Bishop distinctly stated that he would not proceed against W. H. for any acts of immorality, and further said he believed that W. H. would be a very useful priest to me.

October 13 : "Bishop Conwell called on me at Revd. Mr. Power's and had a long conversation to induce me to receive Mr. Hogan into my Diocess, and stated that he thought under me he would be very useful; but the Bishop of Philadelphia neither would give me permission to examine formally into Mr. Hogan's conduct nor do so himself, but merely gave me powers to absolve him from the censures *ab homine* which he inflicted, upon condition of W. H. coming to my Diocess. On Sunday, October 14, the Archbishop sailed from New York to France on his way to Rome.

October 15 : "I left New York accompanied by the Revd. John Power as my Secretary and on the same evening at Trenton I saw and conversed with the Revd. Henry Doyle, who had been a Parish Priest in Ireland, and was now stationed at Trenton, where he had a poor congregation, and a small school, and also Rev. John Twomy, formerly of the Diocess of Kerry, in Ireland, who had taught for some time in Georgetown with the Jesuits, and was latterly at Philadelphia. I endeavored to prevail upon them to come to Charleston to assist in the Academy, or on the Mission.

October 16 : " Arrived in Philadelphia, and was called upon by the Revd. W. H. and many of his supporters, which latter I refused to see, until I should have arranged matters with W. H. I had several conversations with Revd. A. O'Hannan and others upon the subject of the Schism, and in the evening informed Revd. S. Cooper that I would on the next day say Mass at St. Joseph's Church which was then in possession of the Bishop and his adherents. At night I was called upon by some of the adherents of W. H. to say that if I celebrated in St. Joseph's on the next day I could effect no reconciliation, upon which after mature deliberation I determined to celebrate in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Revd. Mr. Roloff's. On that night I saw that the charges against W. H. were likely to be made the subject of a serious legal investigation.

October 17 : " Celebrated Mass at Trinity Church, had several interviews with the Clergymen (Cooper, Kearns, O'Hannan, Hurly, Kenny, and with W. H. The latter pledged himself to abide by my decision.)

October 18 : " After Mass I saw W. H. and gave him the copy of a letter which I required him to send to me, requesting me to receive him into my Diocese, and expressing his determination to leave Philadelphia and to abide by my decision, and that of the Holy See upon his former conduct. He wished to have a previous interview with his supporters, which I said I could not sanction, but he might on his own discretion. He after some hesitation said he would write the letter. I stated that the letter having been received by me, he would become my subject, and (that I) should then no longer object to seeing his friends. W. H. retired and in a few moments Revd. A. O'Hannan brought me the letter, which I answered by a note receiving W. H. into my Diocese of Charleston. A sub-committee of his friends (Messrs.

Leamy, Ashley & Fagan) were with me before I despatched the answer, having writ it, I stated to them the complete irregularity of W. H.'s conduct, shewed them that if the Bishop had done any wrong, it was only by an appeal to Rome, and not by irregular opposition, redress could be had, and pledged myself to them that if they conducted themselves as Catholics and had causes of complaint I would not only forward their statements, but if I found them supported by evidence I would aid them to obtain redress. The only difficulty which now appeared to remain they stated to be the appointment of the Pastor of St. Mary's. I said it must rest with the Bishop. They stated, their objections to receiving those whom he had appointed were insuperable, and then observed that there was no remedy for this but what Rome might give upon a statement, but upon their proposal I said I would request the Bishop to allow me the nomination during the suit. They expressed themselves satisfied if this were granted. I accordingly wrote to the Bishop, making the request and promising him peace if this were granted. I then consented to dine with W. H., who upon his knees in presence of Revd. John Power and Revd. A. O'Hannan professed himself to belong to the Diocese of Charleston, to hold the Roman Catholic faith, to be contrite for his improper publications, and to fulfil the injunctions of the Holy See, and to obey my judgment and decision upon his case and conduct, upon which conditions I told him the Bishop of Philadelphia had authorized me to receive him and to absolve him from his censures, which I then did, after which we sat down to dinner, during which we arranged the manner of his support, the place of his residence and a variety of details respecting his future situation in Charleston.

October 19: "After a long interview with W. H. in presence of Revd. John Power, we before breakfast

arranged all the details and reduced them to writing, which I signed and gave to W. H. I repeated then what I told him on the previous evening, that he was not to attempt the administration of a Sacrament nor the celebration of Mass in Philadelphia. I asked him if he had the Sacrament, having replied in the affirmative, I accompanied him to St. Mary's Church where he gave me the keys of the Tabernacle, from which I removed the Sacrament and took it to St. Joseph's, where I delivered it to the Revd. Mr. Cooper and told him he may now inform the Bishop of Philadelphia that W. H. now belonged to the Diocese of Charleston. I then returned to the house of W. H. to meet his subcommittee (Messrs. Ashley and Fagan were the only two present). I related to them in the presence of W. H. what had occurred and stated the reasons; upon which Mr. Ashley observed that he had no doubt but I was stating the law, the facts were clear, and therefore it was plain that although they had been otherwise informed they had been acting in error, and stated that W. H. had very wisely got out of his difficulties, but it was his own act, not that of the Trustees, and asked how W. H. could reconcile his desertion of the Trustees with his declarations on the previous Sunday of adhering to them under all circumstances? I said W. H. had acted by my advice in leaving them and therefore not he, but I, was to inform the people of their mistake. He asked me would I say Mass in *St. Mary's* on Sunday. I replied I could not, but would give an explanation to satisfy to the people of their error, there or somewhere. He asked what they were to do? I said to wait patiently the Bishop's answer to my letter, which had been sent, upon which we parted in apparent friendship.

I then informed W. H. that as he could not say Mass, and may not feel like going to one of the Churches pub-

licly to hear Mass, I would celebrate in his room on Sunday, he expressed his gratitude and requested I would permit Mr. Ashley to attend. I said he may bring whom he pleased. I then requested he would refer to me any persons who might ask the reasons of his conduct, and whom he chose to gratify, and not enter into any explanations which may cause unpleasant feelings to him and also that he would prepare to leave Philadelphia as soon as possible.

That night I was accompanied by Revd. John Power to the house of W. H. for the purpose of sleeping. I there met Revd. A. O'Hannan, who gradually communicated the information that W. H. had been called to the Board of Trustees and had there promised that unless I would say Mass in St. Mary's Church on Sunday he would, and also his fears that W. H. was not disposed to do as he had promised. Mr. Power and I left the house and returned to our hotel.

October 20: "I found Mr. Hannan's fears realized. To a message from W. H. I answered I had no further concession to make, that if he attempted to officiate the former absolution would lose its effect, that by remaining in Philadelphia he exposed himself to temptation, and that I would not consent to see him except he would that day leave the city and be absent until Monday; if he did so, I would then see him, and overlook all that had occurred; if not, I should add new censures to the former. John T. O'Sullivan, one of his principal adherents, said he was convinced I was right, and soon returned to inform me that W. H. was preparing to depart. I said that after the departure of W. H. I would arrange with him, O'S., when and where I would meet the adherents of the Trustees to give them an explanation. In the evening J. T. O'S. called to inform me that W. H. had not left town, and would say Mass next day at the

request of his friends. I told O'S. that I did not wish to act with unnecessary severity and begged he would inform W. H. that the absolution lost its effect and that unless before nine o'clock that night I should have received from W. H. a request to be dismissed from the Diocese of Charleston I should, though with very acute feelings of pain, excommunicate him for disobedience. T. O'S. retired saying I should receive the request. At ten o'clock, which was upwards of four hours from having made the communication, although W. H. was within five minutes' walk of where I stayed, I had received no communication. I therefore drew up a communication and notice to W. H. which I signed and sealed, and which was also signed by John Power as my secretary. This notice recited the grounds upon which I had given absolution, and also that I had learned with pain his intention of celebrating Mass, my dissent therefrom, &c., and warned him, that should he attempt to celebrate he would thereby incur a greater excommunication, *latae sententiae*. I went with Mr. Power to the house of W. H. and Revd. Mr. Power put this notice into his hands at half-past ten o'clock, informing him at the same time of the nature of its contents.

After I had gone to my hotel and was preparing to retire to bed Revd. A. O'Hannan, and T. O'S., who had been at the house of W. H. called on me with his resignation of the Domicile in the Diocese of Charleston, to which I then gave no answer, but mentioned to them the notice which Revd. Mr. Power served, and of which they stated W. H. had informed them.

October 21: "Sunday. I celebrated Mass in St. Joseph's Church in Philadelphia and at ten o'clock received from W. H. who that morning celebrated Mass twice, a note requesting me to see and advise his flock at St. Mary's Church on that evening. I saw the object

of the writer was to procure my appearance in the Church that he might thereby persuade the people that he and I were in communion. I wrote stating that I could not go to St. Mary's Church, and knew no flock of W. H. I preached at St. Joseph's at midday and appeared at Vespers there that evening and during the day I found many of my former Parishioners in Ireland who had been deceived by W. H. and whom I detached from him. At night I saw a Committee of the Trustees of the Catholics who were desirous of an explanation for their lawyers and to whom I gave a full explanation of all that had taken place.

October 22: "Celebrated Mass at St. Augustine's Church and received into my Diocess the Revd. John Tuomy. Gave an exeat to Revd. Samuel Cooper, as I could not prevail upon him to continue in my Diocess. I also saw many persons who had been deceived by W. H., who now promised that they would leave him. I then left Philadelphia for Baltimore."

The following fragment of a letter from Bishop England, dated from Philadelphia (October, 1821), covers the same ground thus comprehensively:

By this Hogan ceased to belong to Philadelphia unless again dismissed by the Bishop of Charleston and received by the Bishop of Philadelphia, or upon a hearing of his case put back to Philadelphia by Rome. He acknowledged himself to be a subject of Charleston, and was directed by the Bishop of Charleston to do no acts in Philadelphia, as indeed he could not, and was required to give up the Sacrament from St. Mary's Church to his new Bishop, which he did; and the manner which he was to be employed in Charleston, together with several details, were all agreed to and concluded upon. So that to all intents and purposes the Bishop of Philadelphia lost jurisdiction over him and the Bishop of Charleston obtained it.

On the 29th of October he signified his intention of not complying with the conditions. On that night the Bishop of Charleston served him with notice, as a subject of his Diocese, not to say Mass, under penalty of excommunication. Subsequently to this he renounced the Diocese of Charleston, and belonged to no Diocese, until received by some other. He would still belong to Charleston did not the Bishop renounce his claim upon him, which he did. So that now Mr. Hogan is under censures, without jurisdiction, belongs to no Diocese, and is incapable of being employed for any ecclesiastical purposes, according to the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. The transcript of this "fragment" is undersigned:

✱ JOHN, BISHOP OF CHARLESTON.

Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1821.

Obviously there is a discrepancy in the final date, since incidents are noted down to October 29 same year.

On October 25 Bishop England wrote as follows to the Hon. William Gaston of North Carolina:

"I endeavored to heal the wounds of Philadelphia but a worse case I never met. The Bishop is not exactly in his place. Hogan is without faith, principle or information, habituated to sacrilege, and supported by envenomed anti-Catholics under the disguise of the Catholic name. Yet I had at one moment nearly succeeded in destroying the schism, though at an immense personal sacrifice. But the evil has been suffered to run too long and the case is now hopeless." (U. S. Catholic Hist. Magazine, Vol. IV, No. XIII.) And the following sidelight on the situation appears in Bishop England's Diary, date of April 27, 1823, Fayetteville, N. C.:

"I found the Revd. A. O'Hannan had during his stay made very erroneous impressions upon the little flock respecting the Schism at Philadelphia, and created great prejudice against the Bishop and in favor of Mr. Hogan. I also found that his reason for quitting his mission was

his apprehension that upon my discovering that he had quit his position in North Carolina and gone to visit Hogan in Philadelphia, and been seen in his company in Baltimore, I would withdraw his jurisdiction, and he was desirous of obtaining his exeat and testimonials before I should make the discovery."

Father Jordan, in his *Woodstock Letters*, construes rather harm than good from Bishop England's attempts at peacemaking in Philadelphia.

"Another embarrassing circumstance in the early history of the Church in this Diocese was the visit of the Rt. Rev. John England, D. D., first Bishop of Charleston, to the City of Philadelphia. Before this time, the Trustees knew they were insubordinate, but when they gathered from the Bishop that they were on an equality with their diocesan and ought to, not *might* or *could* appeal to Rome, offering himself to be appointed their agent, their conduct became insupportable. The Bishop, i. e., the Bishop of Philadelphia, remained at home at St. Joseph's, which Church he now made his Cathedral, and and the faithful Catholics flocked around him. Shortly after he enlarged the church to almost its present dimensions, that it might accommodate the crowds."

Another witness whom it seems well to cite was the Rev. Patrick Kenny, pastor of *Coffee Run*, Delaware. Father Kenny said Mass in St. Joseph's, Philadelphia, on October 16, 1821: "My first view of its enlargement, well done." His diary notes under date of October 21:

"Heartrending work by Mr. Hogan, doubly excommunicated; first by Bishop Conwell, who empowered Bishop England to take off the first excommunication on condition of Hogan's leaving Philadelphia and becoming a subject of Bishop England's, of Charleston, S. C. All this Hogan engaged to do under his own signature, but this morning, instead of complying with his written

engagements he went and officiated at St. Mary's, whereupon Bishop England excommunicated him as a subject of Charleston Diocess and Bishop Conwell's excommunication revives."

Item, October 22 : "This day Hogan obliged to give in security to the Mayor's Court required on Friday last for assault and battery in 500 Dollars, and Hannan in 200 dollars."

Concerning the latter disgraceful episode, we are not interested in reviewing the circumstantial report of it by Joseph A. Dowling, stenographer, "in a closely-printed volume of 280 pages entitled, *The Trial of Rev. Wm. Hogan, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, for an assault and battery on Mary Connell.*" The trial was set for December 1, 1821, but was postponed at the request of Hogan by reason of the absence of an important witness living next door to his residence in Willing's Alley. The trial was then opened on April 1, 1822, and lasted nine days. The prosecuting attorneys were George M. Dallas (afterwards Vice President of the United States) and Edward King. On Hogan's part there appeared Charles J. Ingersoll, J. R. Ingersoll, David Paul Brown and Daniel J. Desmond. In sum, quite an impressive array of legal talent in a vulgar criminal trial. No more than five minutes after the case was turned over to the jury the verdict was rendered, "not guilty."

Honi soit qui mal y pense ; although it seems right to add that this verdict stood rather based on irretrievably confused and confusing testimony than on the ascertainable truth of the case had the evidence been clear and final. At best, the proceedings disclosed elements of revengeful spite ; at the worst, Bishop England, for one, was incredulous of Hogan's guilt on the score of overt lewdness. The Bishop of Charleston thus writes to Bishop Conwell on September 12, 1822 :

"I arrived from New York in Philadelphia on the 16th of October (1821). At that time the Mayor's Court was occupied in the inquiry arising out of the complaint of Mary Connell. Mr. Hogan called upon me. I was then as I still am, under an impression of his innocence of the charges made by that woman. I received him in the manner I ought from the impressions on my mind." And again Bishop England writes (*Works*, 127, 129): "The charges were those of immoral conduct which I did not believe to be well founded. Mr. Hogan acted irregularly. I never then or now charged him with profligacy."

The Rev. A. O'Hannan, who had been implicated in the original affair, was not brought to trial; Father Hurley persuading Mrs. Connell to the course of a *nolle prosequi*. Nevertheless Father O'Hannan has been censured for withholding knowledge that might have cleared up the case in its true light; and the inference is that neither party wished to air the actual truth.

CHAPTER X.

FROM OCTOBER 21 TO THE END OF 1821.

BISHOP CONWELL GOES TO QUEBEC FOR URSULINE NUNS AND TO COLLECT FOR ST. JOSEPH'S. THE ARRIVAL OF THE REV. WILLIAM VINCENT HAROLD FANS THE DISPUTE. THE SUPREME COURT DENIES THE AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY THE TRUSTEES. EXCLUSION OF THE CLERGY DECLARED ILLEGAL.

It was in October of 1821 that Bishop Conwell set out for Canada, both in order to engage Ursulines from Quebec to establish a community in his Diocese and also to solicit funds towards defraying the cost of the improvements in St. Joseph's Church. He was in tran-

sit of New York on October 13; in Quebec on the 25th; and since he visited Buffalo in 1821 or 1822 (Bishop Timon's "Missions in New York"), where he baptized a child of Patrick O'Rourke, it seems likely that the Buffalo journey coincided with this expedition to Quebec.

From the "History of the Ursulines of Quebec" we cite the sombre passage:

"In 1818 and the following years Canada was honored with visits from the venerable Bishops Flaget, Conwell and Cheverus. . . . The visit of Bishop Conwell of Philadelphia, who arrived at Quebec in October, 1821, was made under less pleasing auspices. This distinguished prelate came to Quebec to consult with our Bishop (Mgr. J. O. Plessis) concerning a schism which has arisen in the church, in regard to a sermon preached in his presence by a priest of his diocese, who therein questioned the Bishop's authority. For this reason the Bishop thought it was his duty to excommunicate the preacher, who then took occasion to rebel against the Bishop, and thus produced a schism, which has kept on growing and gives Bishop Conwell the greatest possible anxiety. After reading the foregoing statement one can not help feeling deeply grieved, as we are ourselves, at seeing so deplorably realized the Divine Master's words, 'Scandals must come.' But when we look over the history of the Church we can easily form a correct estimate of revolts like this, of which the Church has had examples in all ages. Bishop Conwell seems to be filled with zeal for our holy religion. Prompted by this spirit, he asked Bishop Plessis for one of our Nuns, with the view of founding a community in his diocese. He had already secured for this purpose, in the city of Philadelphia, a site located on an eminence and quite airy, having moreover the advantage of a garden remarkable for its fruit trees and its size. His Lordship (of Quebec) having

informed us of this project, we, in accordance with his advice, asked the Bishop of Philadelphia to send us instead, young ladies desiring to enter on the religious life in our Order for the purpose of becoming imbued with the spirit of our community, assuring him that they would be well received here. For the present the Schism in Philadelphia prevents any important step from being taken in this matter."

The site in Philadelphia, "located on an eminence and quite airy," was the Vauxhall Garden at northeast corner of Broad and Walnut Streets, later known as the Dundas property.

Next we may cite Bishop Conwell himself, who writes to Bishop Plessis as follows:

QUEBEC, Thursday evening, *October 25th*, 1821.

My Dear Lord,

If there is anything improper in the idea of my wishing to carry the object of the enclosed representation into effect, I beg your Lordship will excuse it, on the principle that nothing but a sense of duty and a desire to promote the interests of religion could possibly prompt me to it.

It is necessary to defeat the *Jacobinical* Disposition, which prevails among a certain class of citizens in the United States; otherwise Religion will be lost there forever. *Now is the time*. The case is come to a *crisis*. When they are conquered, which must be the case, with God's assistance, by *perseverance* and *Fortitude*, they will never attempt the like again.

The next thing most essential to us is the establishment of a nunnery of *Ursulines*, which we entertain great hopes of, as there are three young ladies of Philadelphia, each of whom has an independent fortune of 10,000 Dollars, making 30,000, who would be very anxious to enter into a *Religious State*, for the purpose of educating their own sex and saving souls in Philadelphia. On our coming here, they begged me to

make a representation of this and to try to obtain two Sisters to *form them* when they would have a suitable situation for them, which they expect to have prepared next summer.

I submit this together with the enclosed to your Lordship's consideration and I have the honor to be

with the greatest love and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant

HENRY CONWELL

Bishop of Philadelphia.

To

The Most Reverend Doctor Plessis

Archbishop of Quebec. . .

(Transcript from original in Archives of the Archbishop's Palace, Quebec.)

Quebec has also preserved a record of Bishop Conwell's mission in behalf of St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia. To wit,

QUEBEC, October, 1821.

The lay *Trustees* of St. Mary's Church in Philadelphia having usurped the right of appointing a *Pastor* in defiance of the Bishop's authority, and he the said *Pastor* of their appointment being since *Excommunicated* for exercising the functions of the Sacred Ministry in virtue of the *commission* held under them; the Bishop and clergy and the parishioners were obliged under these circumstances to leave the church to themselves, when they retired into a little chapel called St. Joseph's; which being too small for even the third part of the Congregation, and consequently the great majority of the people being under the disagreeable necessity of worshipping in the open air, it became necessary to rebuild the said church of St. Joseph's, . . . which, when completed, will relieve the suffering people from the persecution of *Trustees* and make the Catholic Religion be respected and flourish not only in Philadelphia but throughout the United States in general.

The friends of Religion in Philadelphia finding their own

resources inadequate towards accomplishing this object, advised the measure of applying for charitable aid and assistance to that effect, in Quebec and Montreal, where the clergy and the people of all ranks have been ever celebrated for their Beneficence and love of Religion.

The clergy of Montreal would willingly favour this application, if His Lordship of Quebec would have the goodness to sanction it by his recommendation.

The execution of this unpleasant office being the province of the clerical order, it was proposed that the Revd. Mr. Cumiskey should proceed on this occasion without delay, who not being very willing to undertake the commission alone, at least till next year, when it was considered that it might then be too late, the Bishop therefore consented to give the sanction of his presence to the project.

There is also preserved at Quebec the following letter from the Rev. John Power :

(NEW YORK, *November 9, 1821.*)

The Most Rev. Doctor O. Plessis,
Quebec.

My Lord,

. . . . Philadelphia is torn to pieces, the Bishop is absent these five weeks and no one knows where, while Hogan is working his way without control and glorying in his impiety. The Bishop of Charleston made a great effort to steal him out of Philadelphia, but all to no purpose, for after consenting to go to Charleston, and giving up Philadelphia, *in scriptis*, his irreligious Trustees prevailed on him not to leave them. The efforts I myself made to take him away from them, have brought on me their odium, for which I care but little. . . .

JOHN POWER.

(All these transcripts from Quebec are avouched by J. Cl. Arsenault, Private Secretary to the Archbishop of Quebec. The final transcript is dated December 7, 1900.)

Exactly one year after Bishop Conwell's arrival in Philadelphia, another participant in the unfortunate controversy reached that city, namely, the Rev. William Harold. Father Harold had already been in Philadelphia from 1810 to 1813. He and his uncle, the Rev. James Harold, backed by St. Mary's congregation, of which they were pastors, had resisted Bishop Egan, and Father William Harold had even been recommended as Bishop Egan's successor. But such were their troubles that in 1813 the two Fathers Harold resigned and left Philadelphia. The Rev. William Harold then became Prior of the Dominican Convent at Lisbon, Portugal, which had been founded by Father Dominick O'Daly for the education of Irish Dominicans. Some time after the rise of Hogan's antagonism to Bishop Conwell, the Bishop invited Father Harold to return to Philadelphia, thereby hoping to divert Hogan's adherents in favor of their former pastor. Events showed this policy to be mistaken. Moreover, it seems that only after the invitation did Bishop Conwell become fully aware of the contention between Father Harold and Bishop Egan. It would also appear that Bishop Conwell sought to withdraw his request for Father Harold to return, but too late, as the latter was then on his way. At which point we may cite Father Jordan's *Woodstock Letters* :

"Rev. William Vincent Harold had returned to Philadelphia, at the request of Bishop Conwell. Between the time of the invitation and his arrival, slanderous tongues had been at work, and the sleeping jealousy of *my Lord* had been awakened, so that when Father Harold arrived he was coldly received, which to him was a new style of reception, and which his natural pride never forgot, but, I hope, forgave."

When Father Harold, a month after his advent, "entered upon the scene," it was only to "cause the fire to

blaze with tenfold fury." In the words of his "Reply to a Catholic Layman's Réjoinder" (page 19): "I was sent for by the Bishop in the mere hope that my return and exertions might contribute to bring back the schismatics to the communion of the Church." But thenceforward the strife merged into an unseemly conflict between two proud clerics for control of a desirable congregation; St. Mary's Church in those days being among the wealthiest in the United States. (Mr. Griffin has it, "the largest and richest congregation in the United States.") The fact stands that neither in Bishop Egan's time nor after Hogan's overthrow, did Father Harold consistently support and honor episcopal authority, although loud in his professions to such intent. The saving difference was, for what it might count; Hogan carried his rebellion to the pass of overt warfare, whilst Father Harold preached submission and practiced insubordination.

Meanwhile, there was some practical effort afoot in behalf of amending the charter of St. Mary's Church. The Trustees asked for legal approval of the amendments they had adopted; but the Bishop's upholders contended that these amendments were illegal in virtue of the exclusion of the Bishop together with Fathers Cummiskey and Hayden, from the appertaining proceedings. Bishop Conwell had been excluded on the ground that he was not "a pastor duly appointed," but Bishop over many congregations. Father Cummiskey's exclusion was based on his absence from the meetings, and Father Hayden's on want of recognition of his appointment, by the Board. At all events, the Supreme Court decided that the resolution for altering the charter, "passed in the absence of Mr. Cummiskey," was unlawful; that the clergy, being a distinct class in the corporation, had not consented to the said resolution. With reference to

Father Cummiskey's exclusion the Chief Justice observed: "It was not denied that he was a pastor duly appointed, as I think it was not asserted that the lay members of the society had ever before exercised or even claimed the right of appointing or removing the pastor; when the charter speaks of pastors duly appointed, it refers to the rules and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. How was it then that Mr. Cummiskey ceased to be a pastor, or by what authority did the lay members of the corporation declare he had forfeited his office of Trustee, which belongs to him *ex officio*, if he remained pastor? The reason assigned is that he had absented himself from the meetings of the corporation and neglected his duties as pastor. For neglect of pastoral duty they had no right to condemn or even to try him, and as to declining to attend a few meetings of the Board, that surely could not amount to a forfeiture of his trusteeship." Further, the Chief Justice declared that the "clergy exist as a separate body of men in this corporation;" that in the original charter "no provision was made for the alteration of their charter because none was intended. It by no means follows that because a majority of the Trustees may manage the ordinary affairs of the Society they can alter the charter, for the Founders having taken anxious care to place their pastors in a reputable situation in the body politic, can it be imagined they intended to leave it in the power of their successors to expel them? And if it was not so intended how can it be done now?"

Of particular significance, even to-day, are the remarks of the Chief Justice of Pennsylvania touching the *Roman Catholic Church*. "Something was said in the argument of the danger of a foreign head of an American Church. But our laws have expressed no apprehension of any such danger, and if our Roman Catholic brethren do in their

conscience believe that the power of conferring or withdrawing the sacred rights of the Clergy has been handed down in sure succession from the Holy Apostle St. Peter to the present pontiff, Pius the 7th, the people of the United States of America have seen nothing in this belief either criminal or dangerous, neither has it been remarked that during our revolutionary struggle or on any trying occasion since, the members of that Church have been less patriotic than their fellow-Christians of other denominations. Their priests therefore are entitled and will receive the same protection as other clergy."

Justice Gibson did not agree with the Chief Justice that the clergy were a distinct class in the corporation, but "as regards Mr. Cummiskey there was a direct exclusion by the lay members; that no ground under the charter or by-laws has been shown; that all the meetings subsequent to the exclusion of Mr. Cummiskey were illegal, and as the amendments were adopted at one of them the application should be denied on that ground." However, he held that the amendment abolishing Clerical Trustees would be lawful if properly adopted. The corporation was chartered "not in its ecclesiastical but in its lay aspect, for the purpose of managing the temporalities of the Church. I have not inquired into the legality of the meeting in other respects, my objection rests exclusively on the illegal expulsion of Mr. Cummiskey." In the course of his opinion Justice Gibson said that the Bishop had "in effect three votes out of eleven in the lay affairs of the congregation; as a respectable clergyman had testified, they all were bound to follow him; he is their leader." *Item*, that the Bishop held his office "on the same terms of unconditional submission to the Papal See. Far be it from me to counsel the Catholics to shake off their spiritual allegiance to the

Pope; that is their concern, not mine, but I do protest against a right of appointment to a civil office incautiously granted to a foreign potentate, being considered irrevocable by the government of our own country." . . . *Relf's Gazette*, January 9, 1822, gives Justice Duncan's opinion that "the proposed amendment is not an amendment at all, but the grant of a new corporation and a new charter." He declared the exclusion of Cummiskey to be "a violation of all Justice and all right," and that the protest against the Bishop and Father Hayden "looked so much like exclusion that I can find no other name for it; it was a declaration against their appearance at the board and participating in its affairs on the ground that they were intruders and not Trustees," &c. That "Mr. Cummiskey could by civil action compel the Trustees to restore him to office."

These opinions were published in full by the *National Gazette* (edited by Robert Walsh, a Catholic), in the *Democratic Press*, and in *Relf's Advertiser*.

The *Freeman's Journal*, January 15, 1822, and *Relf's Advertiser* of the 18th, contained the opinion of Richard H. Bayard, disagreeing with the Supreme Court's decision that the corporation of St. Mary's was composed of two classes, clergy and laity. "For it is settled law that an integral part of a corporation being destroyed or failing, the corporation is dissolved. So by supposing the clergy an integral part of the corporation, the Pope becomes invested with the power of disfranchising all the incorporators; that would be an unlawful consequence. So a foreign power is enabled to do what the sovereign power of this country which gave existence to the corporation cannot do. For no power in this country, without crime and without trial, could disfranchise a corporation or deprive an individual of his rights or his estates." Mr. Bayard not being one of the Judges of

the Supreme Court, nor vested with powers of decision, but only an attorney, therefore his opinion could go no further than to soothe the defeated party under an adverse ruling.

Thus anew was the effort to exclude the clergy from the Board set at nought. The Hoganites had to rescind their actions; and accordingly, on December 31, the Board resolved that the resolution of April 25th was not intended to exclude the Bishop and Father Hayden; that they "are and at all times were at liberty to attend and participate," and that the resolution of May 28th be rescinded: the Trustees "being desirous of meeting the views of the Supreme Court in relation to that resolution."

And thus the close of the year 1821, a year of strife and discord, saw the Trustees balked in their plan of eliminating the clergy from the government of St. Mary's Church.

CHAPTER XI

ANTAGONISM BETWEEN LAY AND CLERICAL TRUSTEES CONTINUES. HOGAN OFFERS TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION. INFLAMMATORY SERMON BY FATHER HAROLD. BISHOP CONWELL STILL SEEKS TO ESTABLISH THE URSULINES. BUYS AND SELLS VAUXHALL GARDENS. HOGAN'S ADDRESS TO THE PRELATES. CRITICISM THEREOF. RENewed WAR OF PAMPHLETS. ELECTION RIOT.

The Year of Grace 1822 dawned on a turbulent status of the Church in Philadelphia. Though the Hoganites had been frustrated in their design of excluding clerical trustees, they persevered in their opposition, and now took steps to remedy what had been found illegal in their former procedure. The Board met again on Janu-

ary 2, 1822. The Rev. Samuel Cooper appeared in the place of Father Hayden, and both Bishop Conwell and Father Cummiskey were present. Tactics of majority rule marked the opposition's course this time; for the defiant resolution was moved, that the Board should confirm "all past proceedings;" rather, did confirm them; as much as to concede a purely nominal and nugatory clerical attendance, yet enough to meet the letter of the Court's requirement. The like resolution was adopted by a vote of seven to three; the dissenters, it need hardly be said, being the clerical members. These at once entered a protest, and requested a week's delay for advisement. This was refused, but they lodged the same protest against the resolution.

In supplement to the fourteen pews already mentioned as contrived for electioneering ends, the Trustees had installed twelve pews in the gallery. Hereto the clerical members objected in the form of contesting the requisite appropriation; urging that the pews had been added simply "for the ensuing election for Trustees." The twelve gallery pews were assigned to Charlotte Ashley, Mrs. McKeon (widow), Michael Crow, Neil Darragh, Philip Smith, Thomas Prendergast, Eleanor Doyle, Michael Griffith, Daniel McCormack, Mathias A. Bonish, James Flinn, and George Jeffers, all favoring Hogan except Philip Smith: provided, indeed, this be the Philip Smith who sided with the Bishop.

Coincidentally with the date of the aforesaid meeting, Hogan sent the following announcement for publication in *Relf's Advertiser*, which produced the same on January 12. From a dispassionate Catholic standpoint, cold-blooded impudence now seems to eclipse, if possible, Hogan's earlier fuming.

Lest the commotion which has taken place in St. Mary's Church may be attributed to the members who

have attended that church for the last seven months, we are requested to publish the underneath note from the the Rev. Wm. Hogan to the Rev. Dr. Conwell.

Jan. 2d, 1822.

Right Rev. Sir :

The judges of the Supreme Court in giving their opinions upon the question, lately before them, relative to the charter of St. Mary's Church, having unanimously recommended an amicable settlement of the dispute now existing between the Catholics of this city and being of opinion that it is only necessary that our respective cases should be heard, in order to calm the minds of the people now distracted and divided by a difference of opinion, I am induced to adopt the recommendation of the Court and am willing to leave our differences to one or more persons to be mutually agreed upon, or to be appointed by the judges of the Supreme Court, and I pledge myself that on receiving from you a like agreement I will sign it, binding myself to comply with their decisions after they have heard our complaints. This, Sir, I am satisfied will be the most speedy way of effecting a reconciliation, so much to be wished and so necessary for the interest of religion in this country, but should you propose any other mode, equally just and impartial I shall have no hesitation in agreeing to it.

Very Respectfully Yours,

WILLIAM, Pastor of St. Mary's.

(Not so impudent, forsooth, between peers of the realm; but we must bear in mind that Hogan had been doubly excommunicated, and yet assumed to an equality of *dictatorship* with the senior of his canonical deponents.)

Before this announcement appeared in print, the same newspaper denied a floating report of Hogan's capitulation, the denial coming out in the issue of January 4, as follows:

"A rumor is in circulation that Rev. Wm. Hogan has given up his right to officiate in St. Mary's Church.

We have been induced to inquire into the facts and feel warranted in saying upon undoubted authority that Mr. Hogan will continue to officiate as usual in the said church."

And so he did, for on the following (Epiphany) Sunday he delivered the "monthly sermon for the purpose of educating and clothing the poor and destitute children of St. Mary's congregation." At the same time the supporters of Bishop Conwell were assembling for worship in St. Joseph's, thus founding the separate and still perpetuated parish of "Old St. Joseph's."

What the Bishop received in sequel to his Canadian mission in behalf of St. Joseph's Church does not expressly appear, save in the subjoined very grateful acknowledgment, which also shows that he still contemplated the founding of an Ursuline convent in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, *January 6th, 1822.*

My Dear Lord,

I would have written to you long since, but waited the final issue of several pending suits in the civil courts which I cannot even yet give you a full account of, as some of them remain undecided. One material point is determined in favour of authority and Ecclesiastical discipline, that is, that the Supreme Court will maintain and support every church and sanction exclusions (Excommunication) when proceeded in according to the respective laws or canons of the church or sect, be it what it may. The Trustees have involved us into great expenses; the cause however of the Church will triumph, and much good will be derived from these *procès* to the Catholic Church universally throughout the United States and eventually elsewhere. I have nothing to add at this present time further than to return infinite thanks for your kindness and that of your good clergy, hoping when winter is past to have an opportunity of expressing these sentiments *viva voce* to your Lordship in person, in the mean time I hope to be

informed of your state of health and more especially if your leg is better.

I wrote by mistake to M. L'abbé Desjardins instead of Mr. Robert, respecting the *Religieuse*, and omitted making the enquiry at Boston, as inasmuch as we contemplate having a Nunnery of Ursulines *here* before many years elapse, and that the person of whom there was question might be a *great treasure* to us, I thought it would be better to have her ourselves and hope to give her encouragement accordingly.

I wish the *Religieuse* could be induced to come here. She could remain with the Sisters of Charity established here, until the intended Establishment could be formed.

The *Three Ladies* will proceed to Quebec immediately after winter, about May. Revd. Mr. Cummiskey intends to accompany them, but I have good reasons for thinking that it would be better that an old Priest should conduct them; and probably I shall be going there myself just about that time. In consequence of which, you will have the goodness to make an observation to that same effect, after I shall have written to you again upon that subject, without giving this as my idea, lest he should suspect that I wished to contravene his intentions, and when I see Your Lordship, I shall give you further *reasons*.

I wish to give my best respects with the compliments of the season to all the Revd. Gentlemen, Mr. Robert, Monsieur le Curé, Mr. Parant, Mr. Turgeon, Mr. Demers, sans oublier Mr. McKeagney ; beaucoup de compliments aussi à Mr. Desjardins, à Mr. Daule et à Mr. Bédard.

Wishing Your Lordship health with every blessing for a long series of years, I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect and love,

My Dear Lord,

Your ever devoted Brother and humble servant in Christ,

HENRY CONWELL Bp of Philadelphia.

To Right Revd. Bishop Plessis.

This letter, too, is preserved in the archives of the Archbishop's Palace in Quebec. That Bishop Conwell

intended to pursue the convent project also appears from his purchase of the celebrated Vauxhall Garden, later familiar as the Dundas property. On January 21, 1822, the *Advertiser* announced: "We understand that the spacious lot on Broad Street between Chestnut and Walnut, known as the Vauxhall Garden, has been purchased by a Board of Trustees for the purpose of being converted into a monastery for the reception of monks and nuns." (Mr. Griffin reminds us that this is "not such bad journalism for 1822, since the reporters of 1900 commonly made still greater blunders in speaking of Catholic affairs.")

Bishop Conwell did not retain the property very long, as will appear by the following notice in the *Freeman's Journal and Philadelphia Mercantile Advertiser* of March 29, 1822:

"The lot of ground known as Vauxhall Gardens, and sold some time past to Bishop Conwell for the purpose of erecting a nunnery, etc., having been found too small for the purpose, was resold on Wednesday evening at the Coffee House, by Thomas Passmore & Co, for \$22,000, being a handsome advance on the first mentioned purchase."

The Rev. William Vincent Harold, whatever his ulterior thoughts in the cause of peace, "added fuel to the flames" by his Epiphany sermon at St. Joseph's (January 6, 1822). Amid the conflicting reports thereof, it is vain to determine either the exact matter or the actual manner of Father Harold's address. Matthew Carey pronounced it (in his *Review of Three Pamphlets*, p. 57) "a continual tirade of the most inflammatory kind, without even the slightest appearance of disguise." On the other hand, John Carrell, Jr., a friend of Father Harold's, together with "several gentlemen of the most respectable character, of different religious persuasions, who

were in the church," declared, "and Dr. Barnes swore," that Harold said he "had left the congregation in peace and harmony and hoped to find them in that state on his return." Again, on the Hogan side, a "Friend of Civil and Religious Liberty," in his "Letter to the Roman Catholics of Philadelphia and the United States," found it without parallel "in any Christian or civilized country. It was an outrage on common sense, a violation of the laws of decorum, an insult to the laws of God and man and a profanation not only of our holy Religion but also of the place in which the offence was committed." As touching the "sworn testimony" of Father Harold himself, surely there is nothing so inflammatory in the particular passage cited; but one lacks its full context, and has no clue to the original manner of deliverance: both angels and villains being accredited with distinctive phases of otherwise neutral smiling. Father Harold then testified to saying: "To have found you as you once were, the most distinguished Catholic Church in this country, distinguished for peace, for piety, for charity, and for every quality which renders men respectable in society, and acceptable to heaven, this would have left me nothing to desire." At any rate, Father Harold by no means fulfilled Bishop Conwell's expectations in the direction of restored harmony and order. Not only did the war of pamphlets "rage with redoubled fury," but ere long there flowed real blood of the combatants.

(To be continued)

ITEMS TRANSATLANTIC

Neues Archiv, whose main industry labors towards paying the way for a collective issue of primary documents on the history of the Middle Ages, has been surveying the Letters of Pope Nicholas I. The second such study and survey, by Ernst Perels, occupies pages 43-153 of Vol. 39, I. The study closes with an appendix giving a list of standard editions of the collected *Canons*, and an *Incipit* catalogue of the Letters of Pope Nicholas I, covering pages 140-153.

Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, aims also to cover a definite and circumscribed period, not so vast and remote, of course, as the cycle represented by *Neues Archiv*, but yet quite ample; and if one may judge by the number for April-June, 1914, this French Review very thoroughly ransacks its premises and their outlying peripheries. Contents for the said issue are as follows:

Baron de Lützow: Trois lettres inédites à Sir Francis d'Ivernois sur la guerre d'Espagne (1810-1812), publiées et annotées par M. Otto Karmin.

Octave Beuve: Un petit-fils de Montesquieu soldat de l'Indépendance américaine (d'après des documents inédits).

P.-M. Favret: Quelques documents biographiques sur le conventionnel Courtois.

Charles Vellay (*Directeur* of the magazine): Les vicaires généraux de Paris et le serment constitutionnel en janvier 1791.

R. Vallentin du Cheylard : Sanary et le siège de Toulon (suite et fin).

Marie-Caroline, reine des Deux-Siciles : lettres inédites au marquis de Gallo (1789-1806), publiées par M. le commandant Weil (suite).

There are the further departments of *Mélanges et documents*, *Travaux bibliographiques*, *Notes et glanes*, *Bibliographie*, *Périodiques*, *Chronique*.

By rights this *item* should have accrued to the late Mr. Martin I. J. Griffin (*R. I. P.*). One can well imagine his delight on happening upon the article describing the service of a grandson of Montesquieu in the American Revolution; and he would also have relished a stiff backbone letter of John Adams in the same number, wherein the writer, in courtly but very high tone, expounds his political *Credo*, in refutation of the charge that he was an "apostate republican." (He would simply have the republican *executive* armed with masterful *veto* powers.) In fact, the article on Montesquieu's grandson, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, offers a variety of interesting reflections on the manners of that age, both French and American. Charles-Louis was born on November 22, 1749, and baptized, in the Cathedral of Saint-André at Bordeaux, on the morrow of his birth; his distinguished grandfather being sponsor. We render from the latter's works a passage purporting to have been written before the grandson's cradle, and intended for his future guidance:

"I had thought of giving you some precepts of morality; but unless you have them in your heart, you will not find them in books. It is not our intellect, but our soul that guides us. Get wealth, position, intelligence, knowledge, piety, outward graces, enlightenment: but if you lack lofty sentiments, you will never be more than an or-

dinary man. But know, besides, that nothing is nearer the level of low sentiments than pride, and that nothing is nearer lofty sentiments than modesty."

The best of it is that Charles-Louis appears to have exemplified this worthy instruction in his whole career, which was that of a soldier. After due military training, he was in temporary retirement on his father's estate near Bordeaux, when he gladly exchanged that rural monotony of "always doing, getting nothing done," for the opportunity of active service, as aide-de-camp to the Marquis de Chastellux, in the expedition of Count Rochambeau. They sailed from Brest, May 2, 1780, and reached Newport on July 11. In consequence, we have a budget of entertaining familiar letters from Charles-Louis during his American campaigning; whose "first impressions," not only of the topography and physical geography of Rhode Island, but of American society, are frank and zestful. One is mildly amused, by the way, at the Paris editor's perplexity over an exotic term *Torris*, which he leaves in question(?). These *Torris* were found in great plenty about Newport, and they had posted the British on the French movements. Of the "Quaker" civilization Charles-Louis observes: "That probity of morals, that much boasted simplicity of the inhabitants of North America, exists only in the philosophic romances that we have read. These honest Quakers are just as interested, just as hypocritical and just as faulty as the rest of mankind." (However, he allows a better endowment of the primitive virtues among the back-district rustics.) Religious tolerance, too, he finds offset by sectarian jealousies. The Newport letters touch also on a midwinter journey to Philadelphia; and they breathe sincere fervency of admiration for General Washington. After Yorktown, Charles-Louis returned to France (but was again in America, 1782). He died in 1824, being then "Lieutenant-General of the Armies of the King."

The paper on the "Vicars General of Paris and the Constitutional Oath in January, 1791," turns on two thoughtful documents of that stormy season; first, a letter addressed by the Vicars General to the Archbishop of Paris, wherein they state their crucial position between two fires, as it were. If they tendered the oath, they were "prevaricators;" if they refused, they compromised the faithful by the exercise of an office null and void before the prevailing law of the land. The Archbishop's answer is not known; but it is known that he protested, in common with most of the French prelates, against the "civic oath." The second document is a "Statement of the action of the Vicars General of Paris touching the cessation of their functions, and the resumption of the same functions by some of their number." Neither the object nor the destination of this curious document appears to have been determined; the editor merely surmises that it is possibly the duplicate of a communication to the Archbishop. Amid the conflicting phases of conscience which it discloses, the moral between the lines, and also distinctly tangible at the end, is in favor of passive resistance as against a too "accommodating complacency," where the mind of the Church stands irreconcilable with this or that form of civil oppression.

Under *Bibliographie* there is mention of two noteworthy cyclopedic enterprises, French and Swiss. The one, *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique, publiée sous la direction d'Alfred Baudrillart, Albert Vogt et Urbain Rouziès* (Paris, 1912). The same is described as a "vast and interesting publication" (Volume I ranges from *Aachs* to *Albus*). The other enterprise is *Bibliographie der Schweizer-Geschichte*, by Hans Barth, one volume now out, at Basel, 1914; two volumes in prospect. When complete, the work will serve as "indispensable complement to the Dahlmann-

Waitz *Quellenkunde* for German history." Catholic topics receive their fair proportion of attention; so one gathers from the French reviewer's notice. In both instances, as instrumental to the cause of his own *Revue*, he cites the titles of articles bounded by the French Revolutionary and Imperial eras.

Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, Paris, 1914, Number 2, contains:

Alexandre I^{er} et Metternich (1816-1826). *M. L. Pingaud*.

Les Italiens en Grèce et dans les îles après les Croisades. *M. J. Martin*.

La France et la Russie de 1848 à 1854. *Alfred Bourguet*.

La Question romaine (1856-1860). *M. le Marquis Pepoli* (documents translated by *M. le Commandant Weil*).

La Révolution de Panama (3 novembre 1903). *A. S. Turner*.

The latter article will undoubtedly interest American readers of leisure to peruse it; and though written without partisan bias, it seems to point none too indirectly to the classical motive which informs many ancient and modern acts of State: "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas."

Historische Zeitschrift (June arrival, 1614) contains under *Aufsätze* (Upsettings, or composed settings up):
Natur und Geschichte. *A. D. Xenople*.

Karl der Kühne und der Ursprung das habsburgisch-spanischen Imperiums. Under *Miszellen*, three widely diversified attractions:

Die Stellung Kaiser Friedrichs I zu den Einforderungen.

Die Forschung auf dem Gebiete der ältesten polnischen Geschichte.

Das Aufblühen der Geschichtsforschung in Spanien.

What is properly a character study of Charles the Bold shows him in a very commonplace light of personal mediocrity, none the less limited because often inflated with delusions above his compass; and one is again reminded that his French designation, *Charles le Téméraire*, the rash or foolhardy, much better befits him than either the English "Bold" or the German "Kühne." But though commonplace himself, he was indeed a significant link in the chain of mightier and more enduring destinies, even still undaunted at the Habsburg end thereof.

The paper on mediaeval *Einforstungen* learnedly discusses the bearings of a statute in the *Landfriedensedikt Friedrichs I* (c. 1152; possibly 1156) according to its usually accepted text, and anon according to a variant reading. The usual reading has it: "Quicumque per terram transiens, equum suum pabulare voluerit, quantum propinquo secus viam stans in loco amplecti poterit ad refectionem et respirationem equi sui, impune ipsi equo porrigat. Licitum sit ut herba et viridi silva sine vastatione quilibet utatur pro sua commoditate et usu necessario." This reading has been construed, as the researcher finds, more liberally than the times and customs permitted; in a word, as favoring a comprehensive *license* to pasture, whereas only a guarded concession was intended for use in emergencies and pressing contingencies. Be this as it may, the foregoing text strikes one as making better and more plausible coherency, at least, than the minority variant which is proposed instead, from *Licitum* onward, to wit, "Licitum sit etiam ipsi uti herba et viridi silva. Sine vastatione et

noxa qualibet utatur pro sua commoditate et usu necessario." In either case the first part of the statute is undisputed, namely, the traveler's right to "refresh and breathe" his horse from the wayside grass, or the grass in land near the highway. And since this right was volunteered by a Catholic Emperor in the heart of the Middle Ages, it but freshly refutes an erroneous allegation, often printed by those hostile to the Church, that Catholic society rather encourages than opposes cruelty to animals.

The Spanish Royal Academy's *Boletín* for May, 1914, includes a very readable paper concerned with the far North of Catholic Spain: *La Abadía y Diócesis de Santander*, and altogether an edifying account of "Christianity in the Balearic Islands until the close of the Sixth Century." Certain words in a formal defence of their faith by the Bishops of Minorca, Majorca and Iviza, signing in the order of their consecration, A. D. 484, against the Vandal and Arian King Huneric, belong to each and every century of the steadfast Catholic doctrine: This is our faith, confirmed by the Evangelical and Apostolic traditions and authority, and established in the society of all the Catholic churches which are in the world; in which faith we, by the grace of Almighty God, do trust and hope to remain till the end of this life."

Revue des Questions Historiques, April 1, 1914, contains the articles:

Jean sans Peur et Louis d'Orléans (juillet-octobre 1405). *Léon Mirot*.

Luther au Couvent (1505-1517). *L. Cristiani*.

Loriquet et Saint-Acheul. *P. Bliard*.

And under *Mélanges* we may note the papers on "A French Apostle to Sweden at the close of the Eighteenth Century," and on "Cardinal Rampolla, Historian."

The Luther article ends in this terse valediction, that "the entire life of the celebrated Reformer is compressed in these two words, *contredire et maudire*:: contradiction and cursing."

Yonder "French Apostle to Sweden" was the Abbé Oster, from Lorraine, sent from Rome as Vicar Apostolic at the time when Sweden granted a sort of open door to the Catholic Church; but if we are to trust the present report of his barren mission (and surely the *Revue des Questions Historiques* is a careful "house-keeper"), he was foiled by the miserable calumnies of a fellow Catholic, his eventual successor as Vicar Apostolic, *P. d'Ossery*; who furthermore gave scandal to the Swedes by his unworthy life and example in their country, leaving a prejudice to the Church on that account even down to these days.

Loriquet et Saint-Acheul has likewise its melancholy aspects from a Catholic standpoint. The article describes a once excellent "little seminary," founded in the wake of the Jesuit restoration, A. D. 1914, in the vicinity of Amiens. Père Loriquet, the soul of the school, and a man of irreproachable life and aspirations, also succumbed to calumny, or his devout foundation so succumbed, being closed on technical charges without an atom of reasonable justification, save that malice and iniquity had their way triumphant.

Cardinal Rampolla, historian, is particularly thus entitled in virtue of his biography of *Santa Melania giunior*, *Senatrice Romana*; which has "added a noble chapter to the history of the Fifth Christian Century."

If apology be in order for this tardy notice of *Annales du Midi*, *Revue de la France Méridionale*, April Number of 1913, the excuse is ready that the copy accessible for these *items* bears the "Received" stamp of May,

1914; but anyhow, the same *Annales* evidently take the march of time deliberately, seeing that their own acknowledgments notice periodicals of Southern France all the way back to 1908. The particular theme to invite one's attention in this number is offered by a first installment of the *Journal des actes de Jean Plantavit de la Pause, Évêque de Lodève* (1626-1630). His mother a Catholic, his father a Protestant nobleman, Christophe de Plantavit, sieur de la Pause, the minister of the Reformed Church: *Jean Samuel*, the subsequent Catholic Bishop, was brought up in the Calvinist faith, and prepared therein for the pastorate. He was already in the Reformed ministry, at Boijans-lès-Béziers, when events led him into the Mother Church: his conversion being accredited to a *Recollect* Father. He thereupon left with *fracas* (crash, din; didst thou not hear a noise?) the Church Protestant, and from 1606 to 1617 he was pensioned as *pasteur apostat*. After some studies with the Jesuits of La Flèche he was ordained, and then traveled for a time, not omitting to visit Rome. He became Bishop of Lodève in 1625; and this *Journal* was written by his private secretary, Jean Vézian. It runs from February 17, 1626, to October 4, 1630, and is said to be a *source de premier ordre*: chiefly on its objective and official side, for it appears to embody but little of a personal element. The original manuscript is at Montpellier, and no doubt many will welcome this competently published text: we suppose, to be sure, that the residue installments will be forthcoming (if not already in print). This first portion, for the year 1626, occupies twenty pages of the *Annales*. The entries are compact, in a robust masculine style, accidentally a-bloom with quaintness, and quite in keeping with the episcopal dignity of the age just anterior to Louis XIV. In short, the sometime arid Calvinist "plied in conscience his episcopal pro-

fession, even as Louis XIV will ply his trade as King." The *Journal* throws light on the contemporary Catholic *Renaissance in France*, "with its intensity of religious animation, remote pilgrimages, monastic affairs, and struggle against heresy." It is also a capital repertory for the local historian.

Still beyond the particular theme of this episcopal diary, *Les Annales du Midi* should merit attention in the way of emphasizing the large intellectual activity abroad in France outside cosmopolitan Paris. From a mere glance at the review department in *Annales du Midi*, one perceives what a fund of independent research and criticism, academic and antiquarian culture, there is in the length and breadth of the region south of the Loire, as in the several centers of Aude, Bouches-du-Rhône, Cantal, Charente, Drôme, Garonne, Gironde, Isère, Savoie and Vaucluse.

BAPTISMAL RECORDS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH. LANCASTER

Father Barth's baptisms from December 15, 1795, through 1800.

- A. D. 1795, born on the second day of December and baptized on the fifteenth day of the same month, Maria, lawful daughter of Patrick Green and Martha (born Sweeny). Godfather, Neal M'Cafferty; godmother, Cressentia (*sic*) M'Cafferty. Patrick Green Neil M'Cafferty. Godmother's (X) mark.—Lud. (Louis) Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the ninth day of December and baptized on the seventeenth day of the same month, Joseph, lawful son of Michael Huber and Cristina (born . . . Maiden name left blank). Godfather, Joseph Huber, and (godmother) Susanna his wife. Godfather's mark (X). Godmother's mark (X). Father's mark (X).—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the second day of December and baptized on the nineteenth day of the same month, Catharine, lawful daughter of Daniel M'Carroll and Grace (born M'Quarer). Godfather, James Canada. Mark (X) of father and mark (X) of godfather.—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the ninth day of December and baptized on the first day of the year 1796, Maria, lawful daughter of Peter Means and Sara (born Gallacher; *probably, Gallagher?*). Godfather, Patrick Meins (*sic*); godmother, Catharine Harkin.—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the fourteenth day of September and baptized on the first day of January, 1796, Maria, lawful daughter of Peter M'Donach (McDonough?) and Catharine, born Toney. Godfather, Patrick Dunigan; godmother, Maria M'Cafferty.—L. Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the fourth day of May and baptized on the sixth day of the year 1796, Henry, lawful son of Patrick M'Garry and Bridget (born M'Gready). Sponsors were William M'Guire and Joanna Boil.—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1796, born on the fourth day of January and baptized on the sixth day of the same month, Daniel Patrick, lawful son of James Canada and Rose (born O'Donald). Sponsors were Patrick Green and Martha his wife.—Louis Barth, parish priest.

- A. D. 1796, born on the 20th day of February and baptized on the 6th day of March, Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Terence and Elizabeth M'Grann. Sponsors were John Alfred and Gertrude Carolus.—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 14th day of April and baptized on the 27th day of March in the year 1796, Catharine, lawful daughter of Arthur Scharkey and Elizabeth his wife. Sponsors were Cornelius M'Enley and Grace M'Cafferty. (*McKinley* is possibly meant by M'Enley?)—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 179 (*sic*), born on the (date left blank) and baptized on the 22d day of March, William, lawful son of John and Martha Dougherty. Sponsors were Cornelius and Bridget M'David, man and wife.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 179 (*sic*), born on the (date left blank) and baptized on the 22d day of March, Maria, lawful daughter of Cornelius and Bridget M'David. Sponsors were John and Martha Dougherty, man and wife.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 14th day of February and baptized on the 27th day of March, Maria Magdalena, lawful daughter of Joseph Trautman and Barbara his wife. Sponsors were Andrew Hook and Catharine Lechler.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 2d day of March and baptized on the 27th day of the same month, Anna Maria, lawful daughter of Nicholas and Eva Stormbach. Sponsors were Joseph and Anna Maria Stormbach.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 23d day of March and baptized on the 28th day of the same month, John, lawful son of John Cresman and Christina his wife. Sponsor was Michael Huber.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 3rd day of April and baptized on the sixth day of the same month, Anthony, lawful son of Anthony and Christina Gunter. Sponsors were Michael Huck (*sic*; doubtless for *Hook*) and Anna Maria his wife.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 25th day of March and baptized on the first day of May, Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Barnaby M'Glosky and Joanna his wife. Sponsors were Michael and Rose Rayly (Reilly?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 9th day of May and baptized on the 15th, Eugenia, lawful daughter of Barnaby O'Neal and Sara his wife. Sponsors were Arthur O'Neal and Maria M'Enty (McEntee?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 20th day of May and baptized on the 25th day of the same month, John, lawful son of Philip and Barbara Antony. Sponsors were Henry and Catharine Norbeck.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 21st day of September and baptized on the 5th day of June 1796, Eleanor, lawful daughter of Cornelius Harkens

- and Eleanor his wife. Sponsors were Hugh Mongrand and Margaret Harkens.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 11th day of November and baptized on the 14th day of June, 1796, Catharine, lawful daughter of David and Barbara Fitzgerald. Sponsors were Charles Anthony Heim and Catharine Algayer.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 22d day of October and baptized on the 15th day of June (doubtless 1796?), John, lawful son of Joseph and Christina Algayer. Sponsors were David and Barbara Fitzgerald.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 25th day of January, Peter and Eleanor, lawful twins of John and Margaret Molraines. Sponsors for Peter were James and Unity Read; and for Eleanor, John and Anna Brandon. (Date of baptism is not given.)—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 14th day of October and baptized on the 27th day of June (1796?), Maria, lawful daughter of John and Anna Brandon. Sponsors were James Canada and Susanna M'Glosky.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the first day of July and baptized on the following day, Eleanor, lawful daughter of Edward and Cressentia (*sic*) M'Bride. Sponsors were Edward Sweeny and Martha Green, wife of Patrick Green.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 10th day of June and baptized on the 3rd day of July, James, lawful son of James and Bridget Palmer. Sponsors were Barnaby and Cressentia M'Caferty (*sic*).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the (blank) day of March and baptized on the 3rd day of July, Maria, lawful daughter of Dunkin (*sic*) (for Duncan?) and Joanna Robinson. Godmother was Maria Hilcher.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 9th day of July and baptized on the 17th, Catharine, lawful daughter of Anthony and Maria Hook. Sponsors were Anthony and Christina Gunter.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 25th day of July and baptized on the 29th, Anna Catharine, lawful daughter of Louis and Eva Walter. Sponsors were Leonard and Maria Grauss.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 29th day of July and baptized on the 8th day of August, William, lawful son of Henry and Catharine Löchler. Sponsors were Leonard and Maria Graus.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 24th day of August and baptized on the 4th day of September, John, lawful son of Luke and Maria Flin. Sponsors were Michael Flin and Eleanor Harkins.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 3rd day of September and baptized on the 8th day of the same month, John Anthony, lawful son of John and Barbara Heisser. Godmother was Barbara Haverkam.—Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, born on the 17th day of September and baptized on the 24th day of the same month, John, lawful son of Leonard and Maria Magdalena Kraus. Sponsors were John Kraus and Catharine Gross.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1789, born on the 22d day of November and baptized on the 2d day of October, 1796, Maria, lawful daughter of Andrew and Martha Kelly. Sponsors were Barnaby M'Glosky and Rose Raily (Reilly?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 3rd day of October and baptized on the 11th day of the same month, Maria, lawful daughter of Mathias and Maria Hock. Godmother was Anna Maria Fochten.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 30th day of September and baptized on the 5th day of October, William, lawful son of William and Mary Hamelton (Hamilton?). Sponsors were Barnaby O'Donald, whose substitute was Roger O'Donald, and Grace O'Donald, whose substitute was Margaret O'Donald.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 8th day of October and baptized on the 16th day of the same month, Catharine, lawful daughter of George and Elizabeth Stormbach. Sponsors were Andrew Hook and Catharine Laechler.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 20th day of October and baptized on the same day, Maria, lawful daughter of Philip and Anna Rayly (Reilly?). Sponsors were Edward Gann and Maria Flin.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 23rd day of October and baptized on the 2nd day of November, William, lawful son of Aaron and Eleanor Buckley. Sponsors were James M'Gleade and Catharine Stocksleger.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1794, born on the 12th day of January, Barbara; and in the year of our Lord, 1795, born on the 25th day of December, John, both being lawful children of James and Anna Maria Renner, and the same were baptized by me on the 9th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1797.—Louis Barth.
- (Possibly this entry was of later insertion, to fill the residue of an earlier page. The ink is blacker, and the script shows a newer pen.)
- A. D. (year left blank), born, and baptized on the 4th day of December, 1796, Anna, lawful daughter of Robert and Anna Maxfield. Sponsors were John and Maria M'Laughlin.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 17th day of October and baptized on the 25th day of December, Sarah, lawful daughter of Isaac(?) and Elizabeth O'Donald. Sponsors were Patrick Duffy and Susanna Mecal-mac(?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 27th day of December and baptized on the 29th day of the same month, Mary and Margaret, twin daughters of James and Catharine Murray. Sponsors, Margaret (and) James Reedy and Margaret M'Conally.—Louis Barth.

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- A. D. 1796, born on the 8th day of December and baptized on the 16th day of January, 1797, James, lawful son of Bastian and Catharine Marquat. Sponsors were James and Anna Maria Kirchman.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 18th day of February and baptized on the 19th day of the same month, Nicholas, lawful son of Balthazar and Eva Marthins. Sponsors were Nicholas Sturmbach and Eva Sturmbach; the latter being represented by Anna Maria Sturmbach.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 26th day of January and baptized on the 27th day of February, George Andrew, son of John and Catharine Kirchman. Sponsors were Andrew and Magdalena Hope.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 28th day of November and baptized on the 26th day of March, 1797, Margaret, lawful daughter of Edward and Catharine M'Gourdy. Godfather was Patrick Harken.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 5th day of January and baptized on the 27th day of March, Thomas, lawful son of John and Rose M'Gleade. Sponsors were George Gantz and Elizabeth Gantz.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 27th day of December and baptized on the 16th day of April (1797?), Catharine, lawful daughter of George and Elizabeth Gibson. Sponsors were Patrick M'Fee and Anna Dearmen.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 14th day of April and baptized on the 20th, Edward, lawful son of Patrick and Martha Green. Sponsors were James Gallagher and Margaret his daughter.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 10th day of March and baptized on the 27th day of April, Maria Henrietta, lawful daughter of James and Mary Willcox. Sponsors were Thomas and Prudence Slader.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 26th day of October and baptized on the 30th day of April, 1797, Daniel, lawful son of Michael and Athanasia Gallegher.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 5th day of April and baptized on the 30th, Joseph, lawful son of Henry and Catharine Norbeck. Sponsors were Henry and Margaret Norbeck.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 5th day of April and baptized on the 30th, John, lawful son of Patrick and Sara Raden. Sponsors were John and Maria M'Laughlin, man and wife.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 23rd day of March and baptized on the 21st of May, Henry, lawful son of John and Barbara Stocksleger. Sponsors were Caspar Stocksleger and Christina Latour.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 21st of May and baptized on the 29th, Andrew,

- lawful son of Andrew and Magdalena Hope. Sponsors were John and Catharine Baumgartner.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 15th day of January and baptized on the 4th day of June, Sara, lawful daughter of Thomas and Eleanor Bidy. Sponsors were Francis Read and Joanna Boyle.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 8th day of November and baptized on the 4th day of June (1797?), Anna, lawful daughter of Daniel and (blank) Moth. Sponsor was James Rush.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 27th day of May and baptized on the first day of June, George, lawful son of Joseph and Margaret Wagner. Sponsors were Louis and Elizabeth Heckman.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 31st day of May and baptized on the 5th day of June, Joseph, lawful son of James and Elizabeth Weber. Sponsors were John and Catharine Fisher.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 13th day of January and baptized on the 13th day of June, James, lawful son of Thomas and Margaret Cuni. Sponsors were James and Rose Canada.—Louis Barth.

(N. B.—It should be remarked, perhaps, that in colloquial German *Cuni* often stands for *Conrad*; though there being a surname here in question, Father Barth may have given the name as the family "officially" spelled it. The form *Jacobus*, by the way, which in Latin, the same as in German, may signify either *James* or *Jacob*, is translated *James*, in these notes, for mere consistency, and for lack of precise evidence in favor of *Jacob* rather than *James*.)

- A. D. 1797, born on the 24th day of July and baptized on the (day left blank), Eleanor, lawful daughter of Thomas and Margaret Flanagan. Sponsors were John Caney and Joanna Boyle, widow.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 26th day of February and baptized on the 17th day of July, Daniel, lawful son of Edward and Margaret M'Enley. Sponsors were Neal M'Enley and Maria M'Cafferty.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 6th day of May and baptized on the 30th day of July, John, lawful son of John and Anna O'Neal. Sponsors were Dennis Smith and Resina (*sic*) M'Enelly Bird.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 2nd day of December and baptized on the 6th day of July, 1797, Margaret, lawful daughter of James and Maria Paul. Sponsors were Philip and Magdalena Stocksleger.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 22d day of August and baptized on the 27th, John, lawful son of Anthony and Christina Guinter. Sponsors were Andrew Hook and Margaret M'Guire.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 24th day of August and baptized on the 30th, Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Nicholas and (name blank) Stormbach. Godmother was (name blank) Stormbach.—L. Barth.

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- A. D. 1796, born on the first day of September and baptized on the 3rd day of September, 1797, Patrick, lawful son of Patrick and Catharine Boyle. Sponsors were John Boyle and Catharine Boyle.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1795, born on the 8th day of November and baptized on the 3rd day of September, 1797, Martha, lawful daughter of John and Anna M'Granegen. Sponsors were Patrick M'Glosky and Bridget Neal.—L. B.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 2d day of August and baptized on the 8th, Margaret, lawful daughter of Daniel and Joanna Brian. Godmother was Maria M'Enty (McEntee?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 20th day of June and baptized on the 17th day of September, James, lawful son of Francis and Unity Read. Sponsors were Patrick and Martha Green.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 20th day of September and baptized on the 29th day of the same month, William, son of Anna Web.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 22d day of March and baptized on the 4th day of October, John, lawful son of David and Barbara Fitzgerald. Sponsors were John and Maria M'Laughlin.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 13th day of July and baptized on the 15th, James, lawful son of William and Elizabeth Meloney. Sponsors were Hugh Mullan and Maria Hilcher.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 13th day of October and baptized on the 19th day of November, Anna Maria, illegitimate daughter of Elizabeth Ansbach. Godmother was Anna Maria Leo.—Louis Barth, parish priest.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 20th day of November and baptized on the same day, John, lawful son of Richard and Margaret Bready. Godmother was Margaret Flanigan.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 13th day of December and baptized on the 24th, Henry, lawful son of Philip and Barbara Antony. Sponsors were Henry Norbeck and Margaret Norbeck.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 26th day of August and baptized on the 24th day of December, John, lawful son of James and Eleanor Welsh. Sponsors were Hugh Boyle and Margaret Flanigan.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 30th day of December and baptized on the 31st of the same, Rose, lawful daughter of Patrick and Rose Gorman. Sponsors were Thomas M'Cosker and godmother Anna Fraal.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 13th day of November and baptized on the first day of January 1797 (*sic*, presumably for 1798), Catharine, lawful daughter of James and Mary Ann Renner. Godmother was Gertrude Carolus.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 5th day of December and baptized on the 17th

day of January, 1798, Patrick, illegitimate son of Maria Rey. Sponsors were John Donoughy and Susanna Stocksleger.—Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, born on the 14th day of January and baptized on the 21st day of the same month, Maria, illegitimate daughter of Henry and Catharine Löchler. Godmother was Barbara Löchler.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 3rd day of August and baptized on the 26th day of January, 1798, Raphael, lawful son of Dennis and Mary Stanley. Sponsors were Patrick Green and Maria M'Enty (Mc-Entee?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (day left blank) of January and baptized on the 27th day of the same, (name left blank), lawful (child) of Simeon and (name blank) Higen (Higgins?).

(An incomplete entry, as though the particulars were to be supplied afterwards, or had been forgotten.)

- A. D. 1798, born on the 17th day of January and baptized on the 29th day of the same month, Catharine, lawful daughter of John and Christina Cresman. Sponsors were James Carolus and Catharine Huber.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (day left blank) of January and baptized on the 6th day of February, (another incomplete entry; lawful child indicated but not named), of Canada.
- A. D. 179 (sic), (date blank), born (name blank), lawful daughter of the deceased (father) and (mother's name blank).
- A. D. 1797, born on the first day of July and baptized on the 17th day of February, 1798, Martha, lawful daughter of John and Martha M'Tarneghen (?). Sponsors were Michael Masters and Anna Maxfield.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 11th day of September and baptized on the 18th day of February, 1798, Susanna, lawful daughter of Charles and Anna Dougherty. Sponsors were Charles Bolton and Catharine M'Krore (?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 18th day of February and baptized on the 19th day, John, lawful son of Cornelius and Eleanor Harkens. Sponsors were Barnaby and Grace O'Donald.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (day left blank) of February and baptized on the 3rd day of March, James, lawful son of George and (name blank) Stormbach. Sponsors were James Carolus and Catharine Lächler.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 29th day of November and baptized on the 18th day of March, 1798, James, lawful son of John M'Grenaghan and Anna his wife. Sponsors were Barnaby M'Glosky and Anna M'Glosky.—Louis Barth.

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- A. D. 1798, born on the 13th day of January and baptized on the 29th day of March, James, lawful son of James and Rose Logan. Sponsors were Patrick M'Mennis and Isabella Mayer.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 24th day of March and baptized on the 26th day of the same month, James, lawful son of James and Catharine Gorman. Sponsors were John Gallegher and Bridget Gallegher.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 26th day of March and baptized on the 9th day of April, 1798, Dennis, lawful son of Dennis and Maria M'Fadin (McFadden?). Sponsors were Dominick Gallegher and Martha Green.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 23rd day of March and baptized on the 12th day of April, Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of Maria Marx. Godmother was Catharine Shroot.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 8th day of December and baptized on the 30th day of April, 1798, James, lawful son of Joseph and Christina Algayer. Godfather was David Fitzgerald.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 6th day of September and baptized on the 6th day of May, 1798, Mary Ann, lawful daughter of Samuel and Mary Logan. Godmother was Mary Rivelet(?).—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 27th day of December and baptized on the 6th day of May, 1798, Margaret, lawful daughter of Richard and Susanna Diver. Godmother was Maria Boyle.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 11th day of February and baptized on the 8th day of May, Francis, lawful son of William and Isabella Divin (Devine?). Sponsors were Patrick Kelly and Isabella Mayer, widow.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 15th day of February and baptized on the 9th day of May, a lawful daughter of John and Barbara Heisser. Godmother was Barbara Havercamp.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 14th day of March and baptized on the 3rd day of June, Maria Magdalena, lawful daughter of Peter and Anna Stocksleger. Sponsors were Philip and Magdalena Stocksleger.—(Signature omitted).
- A. D. 1798, born on the 15th day of March and baptized on the 17th day of June, Stephen, lawful son of Stephen and Margaret Williams. Godmother was Maria Carter.—(Signature omitted.)
- A. D. 1797, born on the 18th day of October and baptized on the 17th day of June (1798, presumably), Anna, lawful daughter of John and Joanna Connor. Godfather was George Connelly.—Louis Debarth.

(Here is the first instance in these records of the like signature by Father Barth. The point may recall the fact that he came of a family of some distinction in Germany; his brother being a general in the German army. The General's name is given as De Walbach; apparently the mother's family name.)

- A. D. 1798, born on the 5th day of June and baptized on the first day of July, Alexander (particulars blank) . . . Dunkin (Duncan?) and Joanna Robinson (Robinson?). Sponsors were Barnaby and Joanna M'Closky.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 17th day of June and baptized on the first day of July, John, lawful son of Barnaby and Anna Lane. Sponsors were Reehan(?) M'Glosky and Anna M'Glosky.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 11th day of June and baptized on the first day of July, James, lawful son of John and Anna O'Neal. Sponsors were Patrick Kelly and Susanna M'Armec(?).
- A. D. 1798, born on the 20th day of June and baptized on the first day of July, Margaret, lawful daughter of Hugh and Margaret M'Entire (McIntire?). Godmother was Elizabeth M'Entire.—Louis Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the first day of June and baptized on the 5th, John, lawful son of David and Anna Muihollan (Mulholland?). Sponsors were James M'Gleade and Margaret Boyle.—Louis Barth.

(Signatures vary for a time between *Debarth* and *Barth*; also separately: *de Barth*.)

- A. D. 1798, born on the 4th day of July and baptized on the 9th, Leonard, lawful son of Leonard and Maria Kraus. Godmother was Catharine Wagner.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 10th day of July and baptized on the 12th, Joanna, lawful daughter of Ferdinand and Maria Dowlin. Sponsors were James Henery and Maria M'Cafferty.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 13th day of July and baptized on the 25th, Elizabeth, lawful daughter of John and Maria Krems(?). Godmother was Barbara Lechler.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 21st day of February and baptized on the 31st day of July, Anna Maria, lawful daughter of William and Margaret Hughes. Sponsor was the minister of baptism.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 23rd day of May and baptized on the 4th day of July, Andrew, lawful son of Henry and Salome Peihl. Sponsors were Andrew Hook and Anna Maria Shrod (Schrot?).—Louis de Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (day left blank) and baptized on the 10th day of August, Susanna, lawful daughter of Isaac(?) and Eva Davis. Sponsors were John Fehr and Susanna Huber.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 9th day of August and baptized on the 15th, Michael, lawful son of Michael and Christina Huber. Sponsors were Joseph and Susanna Huver. (*Huver* is a frequent colloquial pronunciation of the same name *Huber*; just as *aber* is often softened to *awer*, in provincial German.)

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- A. D. 1798, born on the 19th day of July and baptized on the 19th day of August, John, lawful son of James and Joanna Green. Sponsors were Francis and Unity Reed.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (date blank), and baptized on the 2d day of September, Philip, son of (name blank), negro.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 14th day of February and baptized on the 2d day of September, James, lawful son of Hugh and Anna Boyle. Sponsors were Neal M'Fadin (McFadden?) and Maria Cargan.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 2d day of September, Joseph Victor and Elizabeth, lawful infants of Vitcor Edward and Maria James, and on the same day they were baptized. I myself, the minister of baptism, was sponsor.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 7th day of March and baptized on the 6th day of September, Francis, son of Catharine M'Callie(?).
- A. D. 1798, born on the 22d day of July and baptized on the 6th day of September, Anna, lawful daughter of William and Abbie Meloney. Sponsor was John Harrison.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 5th day of September and baptized on the 7th, Maria, lawful daughter of Anthony and Christina Guinter. Sponsors were John and Maria M'Laughlin.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 7th day of September and baptized on the 12th, Francis Owings (Owens?), lawful son of Francis and Bridget O'Neal. Sponsors were Arthur O'Neal and Isabella M'Gleade.—Louis Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 14th day of September and baptized on the following day, Francis, lawful son of Barnaby and Sara O'Neal. Sponsors were Thomas M'Anully and Sarah Henry. (McNally?).—L. Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 4th day of October and baptized on the 7th day of the same, John, lawful son of Barnaby and Cressentia O'Donald. Sponsors were Patrick and Martha Green.—L. Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 6th day of September and baptized on the 21st day of October, Catharine, lawful daughter of Charles and Margaret Shanahan. Sponsor was Patrick M'Cabe.—L. Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 16th day of October and baptized on the 22d, William, lawful son of Owings (Owen?) and Elizabeth Jordan. Sponsors were David and Elizabeth Fitzgerald.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 17th day of October and baptized on the 22d, Peter, illegitimate son of Catharine Fisher. Sponsors were John and (blank) Fisher.—Louis Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 27th day of October and baptized on the same day, Eleanor, lawful daughter of Patrick and Martha Green. Sponsors were David Mulhollan (Mulholland?) and Maria M'Cafferty.—Louis Debarth.

- A. D. 1795, born on the first day of March and baptized on the 16th day of November, 1798, Richard, lawful son of Thomas and Noemi North. Sponsors were John and (blank) Risdell.
- A. D. 1797, born on the 23rd day of August and baptized on the 16th day of November, 1798, Joanna Kezia, lawful daughter of Thomas and Noemi North. Sponsors were John Risdell and Joanna Peticolat.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 15th day of July and baptized on the 18th day of November, Sarah, lawful daughter of John and Sara Dolloghan. Sponsor and godfather was James Fenell.—L. Debarth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the (date blank) of November and baptized on the 24th day of December, Cornelius, lawful son of Patrick and Rose M'Guire. Sponsor was Dennis Laferty.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 15th day of December and baptized on the 6th day of January, 1799, Charles, lawful son of John and Catharine M'Groarty. Sponsors were Charles Dougherty and Catharine M'Kew.—L. Debarth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the first day of January and baptized on the 6th day of the same, Anna Maria, illegitimate daughter of Elizabeth Dorey. Godmother was Anna Maria Leo.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 28th day of October and baptized on the 4th day of February, 1799, Robert, lawful son of Aaron and Eleanor Buckley. Sponsors were Francis and Anna Cook.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 3rd day of February and baptized on the 7th day of the same month, William, lawful son of Barnaby and Joanna M'Closkey. Sponsors were Barnaby M'Closkey and Maria M'Cafferty.—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 29th day of January and baptized on the 7th day of February, James, lawful son of William and Esther Keefe. Sponsors were James Brophy and Catharine Devoy.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the (date blank) of February and baptized on the 2d day of March, Victor Theodore, lawful son of Philip and Amelia Peticolat. Godfather was the minister of baptism; godmother, ——— Risdell, who was represented by Elizabeth Fleishman.—Louis Debarth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 22d day of January and baptized on the 24th day of March, Thomas, lawful son of Patrick and Sarah Kaden. Sponsors were Francis and Bridget O'Neal.—L. B.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 26th day of March and baptized on the 6th day of April, Catharine, lawful daughter of Patrick and Anna Trenar. Sponsors were Michael Trenar and Maria M'Manemy.—Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 13th day of April and baptized on the same day, Michael, lawful son of Anthony and Maria Hook. Sponsors were Ferdinand Hook and Elizabeth Heckman.—Louis Barth.

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- A. D. 1798, born on the 31st day of December and baptized on the 12th day of May, 1799, Susanna, lawful daughter of James and Susanna Greenwald. Sponsors were Henry Zimmerman and Elizabeth Freude.—Louis B.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 3rd day of February and baptized on the 12th day of May, Catharine, lawful daughter of John and Anna Ryan. Sponsors were Andrew and Catharine Hekney.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 16th day of May and baptized on the 17th of the same, Nicholas, lawful son of George and Elizabeth Stormbach. Sponsors were Henry Norbeck and Elizabeth Buelgner(?) Bielyner(?).
- A. D. 1799, born on the 16th day of May and baptized on the 21st day of the same, Anna Maria, lawful daughter of Balthazar and Eva Marthins. Sponsors were Joseph and Anna Maria Stormbach.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 13th day of April and baptized on the 23rd day of May, Joseph, lawful son of Nicholas and Eva Stormbach. Sponsors were Joseph and Anna Maria Stormbach.
- A. D. 1799, born on (date blank), and baptized on the 27th day of May, Maria, illegitimate daughter of ———. Godmother was Catharine Bielyner(?).
- A. D. 1799(?), born on (date blank), and baptized on the 29th day of May, Manasses, lawful son of ——— M'Enley. Godmother was ———.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 7th day of May, Catharine, lawful daughter of John and Barbara Stocksleger, and baptized on the 16th day of June. Sponsors were Peter Stocksleger and Magdalena Stocksleger.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 20th day of June, and baptized on the 6th day of July, Margaret, lawful daughter of Thomas and Margaret Conia. Sponsor was Patrick Kelly.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 3rd day of June and baptized on the 7th day of July, Maria, lawful daughter of John and Maria Lechler. Sponsors were Leonard and Maria Kraus.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 28th day of February and born (*sic*, presumably for baptized) on the 7th day of July, James, lawful son of Patrick and Bridget M'Menemy. Sponsor, Charles Bradley.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 24th day of June and baptized on the 21st day of July, David, lawful son of David and Barbara Fitzgerald. Sponsors were James Tagart and Susanna M'Armec.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 19th day of February and baptized on the 21st day of July, Isaac, lawful son of Isaac and Elizabeth O'Donald. Godmother was Susanna M'Armec.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 18th day of December and baptized on the 21st day of July, Margaret, lawful daughter of Dennis and Mary Smith. Godfather was John Cannon.

- A. D. 1799, born on the (date blank) and baptized on the 4th day of August, John James, lawful son of James and Anna Maria Renner. Sponsors were John George and Catharine Miller.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 11th day of June and baptized on the 4th day of August, John, lawful son of Michael and Catharine Stier. Sponsors were John George Dutt and Eva Dutt his sister.

(*M'Glosky* appears in vertical position at left margin of the page, as though for a reminder of an entry to be inserted later.)

- A. D. 1799, born on (date blank) and baptized on the 4th day of August, William, lawful son of James and ——— Laferty. Sponsors were John Galleger and Marie M'Cafferty.
- A. D. 1799, born on the first day of August and baptized on the 5th, Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of Catharine Cusik. Godmother was Maria Meloney.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 7th day of August and baptized on the 15th, Margaret, lawful daughter of Hugh and Maria Mongrand. Sponsors were Arthur M'Clear and godmother Eleonora Meloy(?)—Louis Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 13th day of May and baptized on the 16th day of August, Edward, lawful son of Edward and Margaret M'Enley. Sponsors were John Hikney and Susanna Call.—L. B.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 7th day of January and baptized on the 18th day of August, Mary Ann, lawful daughter of Patrick and Catharine Slone(?). Sponsor was Stephen Colwell.—L. B.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 31st day of May and baptized on the 18th day of August, George, lawful son of John and Catharine Kirchman. Godmother was Elizabeth Kirchman.
- A. D. 1798, born on (date blank) and baptized on the 18th of August, 1799, Maria Anna, lawful daughter of Isaac (surname blank). . . . Sponsors were Balthazar and ——— Marthins.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 8th day of June and baptized on the first day of September, Maria, lawful daughter of John and Susanna Cannon. Sponsors were Bartholomew Carr and Bridget Dougherty.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 29th day of March and baptized on the 14th day of September, James, lawful son of Patrick and Elizabeth M'Menimi. Sponsors were John Sweeny and Catharine M'Enley.—L. Barth.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 22d day of June and baptized on the 15th day of September, William, lawful son of John and Anna O'Neal. Sponsors were William Graham and Joanna M'David.
- A. D. 1799, born on the first day of September and baptized on the 15th day of the same, Maria, lawful daughter of Michael and Joanna M'Bride. Godmother was Bridget O'Neal.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 24th day of June and baptized on the 17th day

- of September, John, lawful son of (deceased) John and Sarah Slateren(?). Sponsors were Daniel Conery and Anna his daughter.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 20th day of May and baptized on the 6th day of October, Daniel, son of Daniel and Aloysia Morse. Sponsors were Andrew M'Koquian and Rose M'Gray.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 9th day of September and baptized on the 6th day of October, James, lawful son of Barnaby and Anna Kane. Sponsors were James Burk and Elizabeth Bender.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 25th day of September and baptized on the 6th day of October, Sarah, lawful daughter of Anthony and Mary Dougherty. Sponsors were John and Elizabeth Dougherty.
- A. D. 1799, born on the (date blank) of October and baptized on the (blank) day of —, a lawful son of Victor and Mary James. Sponsors were —.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 29th day of October and baptized on the first day of November, Catharine, lawful daughter of John and Catharine Miller. Sponsors were James Carolus and Catharine Cross(?).
- A. D. 1799, born on the 25th day of October and baptized on the 13th day of November, James, lawful son of Joseph and Margaret Wagnier. Sponsors were Mathias Hook and Catharine Algayer.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 14th day of November and baptized on the same day, Anna Maria, lawful daughter of John and Mary Ann Singler(?). Sponsor was John Fischer.
- A. D. 1796, born on the 9th day of February and baptized on the 16th day of November, 1799, Maria, lawful daughter of John and Salome Marx. Sponsors were George Huver and Maria Schrook(?).
- A. D. 1799, born on the 3rd day of November and baptized on the 17th, Sarah, lawful daughter of Henry and Catharine Lechler. Godmother was Barbara Lechler.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 7th day of November and baptized on the first day of December, Susanna, lawful daughter of John and Maria Kraus. Sponsors were John Gallegher and Bridget Gallegher.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 7th day of October and baptized on the first day of December, David, lawful son of Thomas and Elizabeth Davies. Godmother was Elizabeth Fleishman.

(Next page begins with a memorandum not apparently related to the context; namely: "2 days after lamas (Lammas) day," which would be August 3.)

- A. D. 1799, born on — day of June and baptized on the 25th day of December, William, lawful son of Francis and Unity Reed. Sponsors were James Rogers and Susanna M'Armec.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 30th day of November and baptized on the 25th day of December, James, lawful son of Henry and Maria

Hilcher. Sponsors were Anthony Dougherty and Margaret M'Fadin (McFadden?).

- A. D. 1799, born on the 10th day of December and baptized on the 27th, Catharine, lawful daughter of George and Catharine Luckman. Godmother was ——— Stormbach.

(Next entry was canceled. It recorded the birth of a lawful son to Joseph and Barbara Trautman, A. D. 1799; his baptism on January 6, 1800; his sponsor being the minister of baptism; and there is added the note of his decease.)

- A. D. 1800, born on the 11th day of January and baptized on the 18th, Henry, lawful son of James and Elizabeth Bender. Sponsors were Henry Schroeder and Catharine Shute.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 11th day of January and baptized on the 18th, Henry, lawful son of James and Elizabeth Bender. Sponsors were Henry Schroeder and Catharine Shute.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 18th day of December and baptized on the 16th day of January, 1800, Louisa, lawful daughter of Thomas and Anna Kiltera. Godmother was Elizabeth Moore.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 15th day of January and baptized on the 21st, Roger, lawful son of James and Rose Canada. Godmother was ——— O'Donald, widow.
- A. D. 1800, born on the ——— and baptized on the ———, lawful child (name and sex not given) of Andrew and Catharine Hinkey. Sponsors were James Laferty and his wife.

Rivelet (space left vacant for an entry not supplied).

- A. D. 1800, born on the 26th day of January and born (*sic*; presumably for baptized) on the 6th day of February, Maria, lawful daughter of James and Isabella M'Gleade. Sponsors were John Henry and Catharine M'Hugh.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 16th day of February and baptized on the 17th day of the same, Catharine, lawful daughter of Neal and Joanna M'Fadin (McFadden?). Sponsors were James and Catharine M'Enley.—L. B.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 14th day of February and baptized on the 23rd, Catharine, lawful daughter of John and Joanna Sweeny. Godmother was Anna Boyle.

Sneyder (space left vacant).

- A. D. 1800, born on the — day of April and baptized on the 11th, Thomas, lawful son of Thomas and ——— Flanigan. Sponsors were Lu'e Flin and Eleanor Herknis(?).
- A. D. 1799, born on the 11th day of November and baptized on the 14th day of April, 1800, William, lawful son of James and Margaret Ruday(?). Sponsors were Michael Flin and Maria Flanigan.

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- A. D. 1800, born on the 16th day of March and baptized the 16th day of April, Anna, lawful daughter of Edward and Margaret Ferry. Godmother was ——— Latour.
- A. D. 1800, born on the (date blank) and baptized on the 22d day of April, a lawful son of Michael and Joanna Hook. Godmother was Christina Gunter.
- A. D. 1800, born on the (date blank) and baptized on the 4th day of May, Sarah, lawful daughter of Charles and Anna Dougherty. Sponsors were Patrick Kiernan and Juliana M'Fadin (McFadden?).

Next Sunday 7 weeks. (If this be with reference to the date of birth, May 4th, 1800, fell on Sunday; or six weeks back would have been March 23; that is, seven weeks back from May 11.)

- A. D. 1799, born on the 3rd day of November and baptized on the 31st of May, 1800, John, lawful son of Arthur and Anna M'Grory. Godmother was Isabella M'Gleade.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 12th day of May and baptized on the 12th day of June, John, lawful son of Patrick and Anna Dowlin. Sponsor was John Grimes.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 9th day of July and baptized on the 20th, John, lawful son of Leonard and Maria Kraus. Sponsors were John and ——— Fisher(?).
- A. D. 1799, born on the 25th day of July and baptized on the 22d day of August, 1800, Samuel, lawful son of James and Anna Tearney. Godfather was David Fitzgerald.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 24th day of August and baptized on the 31st, Thomas, lawful son of Francis and Bridget O'Neal. Sponsors were Barnaby M'Evoiy and Elizabeth Breen.—L. B.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 11th day of October and baptized on the 20th of the same, Michael, lawful son of George and Catharine Huver. Sponsors were Michael and Christina Huwer.

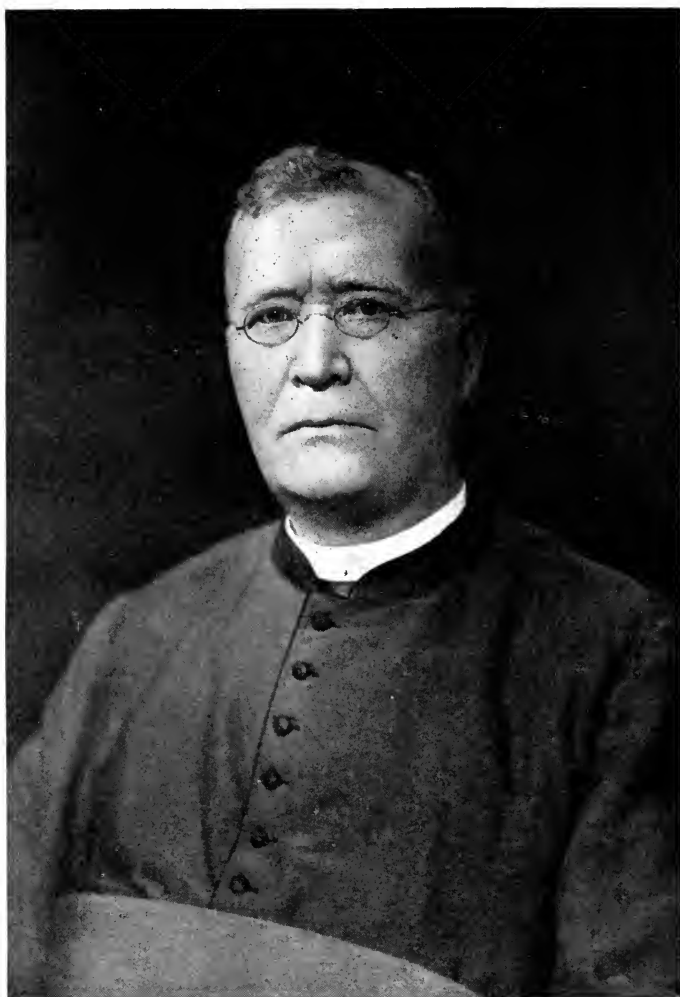
(The month entered appears to stand rather November than October; but several baptisms follow prior to November 20, and there is no apparent cause for a break in the chronological routine at this point. October seems logically meant, and if November was indicated, a slip of the pen was more likely than an eccentric break in the routine entries.)

- A. D. 1800, born on the 23rd day of October and baptized on the 24th, Anna Catharine, lawful daughter of William and Maria Agnes Roth. Sponsors were Henry Shroeder and Gertrude Carolus.—L. B.
- A. D. 1800, born on the ——— and baptized on the 2d day of November, James, illegitimate son of Sara Rogers. Godmother was ——— Boyle, widow.

- A. D. 1800, born on the 11th day of August and baptized on the 31d day of November, Maria Magdalena, lawful daughter of John and Barbara Heisser. Godmother was Magdalena Zoll.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 15th day of October and baptized on the 15th day of November, Cornelius, lawful son of Cornelius and Bridget Dougherty. Sponsors were Aaron Caldwell and Catharine M'Hugh.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 4th day of November and baptized on the 7th day of December, Maria Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Edward and Margaret M'Hugh. Sponsors were Barnaby M'Crory and Maria Elizabeth Bender.
- A. D. 1798, born on the 26th day of November, Eleanor, and on the 18th day of November, 1800, Anna, both being lawful daughters of Thomas and Eleanor Brady. (Date of baptism not stated.) Sponsors were Patrick Moran and Anna Boyle.

This completes Father Barth's record through A. D. 1800.

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Gutekunst

THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR JAMES F. LOUGHLIN, D. D.
(Died 17 March, 1911.)

MONSIGNOR JAMES F. LOUGHLIN, D. D.

A combination of intellectual attainments, a genial and cheery nature, and a strong individuality gave to the late Monsignor Loughlin a personality ever to be remembered. His lamented death deprived the clergy of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia of one of their most talented members, of a priest beloved by clergy and laity alike. His erudition had gained for him a national reputation which his articles in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia* widened into international and permanent fame. Born of thoroughly Catholic parents in the town of Auburn, New York, May the eighth, 1851, James F. Loughlin, like Samuel of old was dedicated to the service of God from his boyhood. The Loughlin family removed 1860 to Toledo, Ohio, where the future prelate was graduated from the city high school at the age of sixteen. Immediately he began his preparation for the priesthood under the direction of the Vincentian Fathers of the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, Niagara Falls. In 1868 he went abroad and entered the Urban College of the Propaganda in Rome, the nursery of so many celebrated churchmen, where he pursued his theological studies with ardor and success. These college days in Rome were the historic days of the Vatican Council and the fall of the temporal power. The young seminarian saw the Holy Father go freely about the Eternal City and officiate at Papal Mass in the world's cathedral for the last time and then witnessed the gates of the Pontiff's prison on the Vatican Hill close upon Pius IX and his successors. Thorough-

ness and earnestness in all that he did, in study and in prayer, in work and in play distinguished James Loughlin in his seminary career, as they were to characterize all the work of his life. Six years of study at the Propaganda, with its literally catholic associations, fitted the young man for the doctor's cap and ring which he received upon his ordination to the priesthood by Cardinal Patrizi the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, on April fourth, 1874, in the venerable Lateran Basilica.

Returning to America, Doctor Loughlin had elected to labour in the diocese of Philadelphia, where the first theatre of his work in the ministry was Saint Matthew's, Conshohocken, as assistant to the priestly Father Kinahan. In 1880, the talented young priest was called to fill a chair in Saint Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, where he taught canon law and moral theology, Greek and Gregorian chant. His association in the Seminary faculty with America's greatest scholar, Doctor Corcoran, was an added inspiration to Doctor Loughlin for reading and study. As a professor he displayed a marked talent of giving interest to the branches which he taught, an ability to impart life to dry subjects.

The ecclesiastical career of Doctor Loughlin was to be one of varied activity, so we find him in the summer of 1886 appointed to organize the new parish of Our Lady of the Rosary, Haddington, which had been up to that time a mission attended from the Mother of Sorrows. A frame chapel was erected, a brick rectory built, and the present magnificent church all but completed when upon the consecration of Doctor Horstmann as Bishop of Cleveland, the untiring rector of Our Lady of the Rosary was designated as chancellor of the Archdiocese. To the exacting and often ungrateful duties of the chancery, Doctor Loughlin brought the same energy which had distinguished his work as curate, as teacher,

and as pastor, and by his obliging manner he endeared himself still more in the hearts of his fellow priests. It was during his incumbency as chancellor that the silver jubilee of his ordination to the priesthood was celebrated with much solemnity in the Cathedral, on the twentieth of April, 1899. In recognition of "his brilliant qualities of mind, his devotion to the Apostolic See, and his varied merits" the late Holy Father, Leo XIII, conferred upon the jubilarian as the crowning gift of his feast day the rank of domestic prelate and most appropriately on this jubilee day he was invested with the purple robes of his new dignity by the hands of Archbishop Ryan. A life-long friend of and fellow Propagandist of the new Monsignor, Bishop Shanley of Fargo, North Dakota, preached the sermon on the occasion. The jubilarian's own response to the addresses of felicitation read to him on that day was thoroughly characteristic of the man in its blunt humility and keen wit.

Nine years of service in the chancery were rewarded by Monsignor Loughlin's appointment to rectorship of the large and important parish of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, on Allegheny Avenue, a post made vacant by the death of the zealous Father Quinn. The material temple had been built when the new rector took charge of the parish, so he applied himself to the up-building of the intellectual and spiritual edifice, giving his special attention to the children in the school, to classes of its graduates, and to the young men and young women of the parish. To the already magnificent pile of church buildings, Monsignor Loughlin added the present handsome convent. For almost a decade he ruled the parish of the Nativity; declining health and failing vision began to interfere more and more with his cherished studies; a long vacation to the Mediterranean and the Holy Land failed to bring back his old-time

energy, and his busy and fruitful years came to an end on March the seventeenth, 1911, on the Island of Barbadoes whither he had journeyed in quest of health. The steamer which bore his remains home was unexpectedly delayed, so that the Pontifical Requiem Mass was sung and the funeral panygeric delivered in the church of which he died as pastor without the presence of the body of the deceased, which though momentarily expected did not arrive till late afternoon and was not laid to rest in Holy Cross Cemetery till the gray of evening. The congregation of the Church of the Nativity has erected over the grave of their distinguished pastor a granite monument with the simple inscription: "Right Rev. James F. Loughlin, D. D. Priest. Scholar. Domestic Prelate. May he rest in peace."

The name of Monsignor Loughlin will ever be inseparably linked with that popular educational movement, known as the Catholic Reading Circles. His desire was to make Catholics read and read what they ought to, to stimulate enquiry that they might learn the doctrines of their faith and be prepared to defend them. The Baronius Club, one of the most prominent of the reading circles, which Monsignor Loughlin conducted like a Renaissance Academy, has founded in his memory a scholarship in Trinity College, Washington.

Next to the Reading Circles, the Catholic Summer School owes the greatest debt to Monsignor Loughlin. One of the founders of the Summer School, its second president, and a faithful trustee of the association from its foundation till his death, he was a great support in the early days of the movement, the days of uncertainty and need giving substantial evidence of his confidence in its success by establishing the first diocesan cottage, the Philadelphia Cottage, at Cliff Haven. He gave also freely of his time and labor on the lecture platform of

the Summer School, delivering there many learned and interesting conferences on his favorite subject of Church history. A third sphere of the special activity of Monsignor Loughlin was among Catholic young men, a work for which he was adapted by nature, his almost boyish buoyancy being ever unfailing in gaining the sympathy of his young friends. He served as president of the National Union of Catholic Young Men's Societies in the organization of which he was a prominent factor, and for many years acted as spiritual director of the Archdiocesan Union.

Gifted with a charming English style, Monsignor Loughlin has left behind him essays which embody the fruits of his extensive reading and his life-long burning of the midnight lamp. He has not bequeathed to posterity any works of length for it was his endeavor not so much to increase the volume of intellectual currency as to devise means whereby to put into general circulation the already existing treasures locked up in libraries. His best literary work was done in the department of Church History. While he cannot be said to have added to the sum of historical lore through strictly original research, he had in high degree the faculty of collating historical material already gathered and presenting it in readable and interesting form to those to whom it would be otherwise inaccessible. He possessed the gift of illuminating dry subjects and of giving life to the events of the past times. Several essays in the *American Catholic Quarterly*, of which Monsignor Loughlin was a co-editor for many years, invest the dead bones of Fifteenth Century history with flesh and blood and nerves and make the men of the time walk living before us. In history it was his consistent aim to present the real truth at any hazard; his motto was "Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice." In papers of a controversial nature, several of

which are to be found in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* and in the *American Catholic Quarterly*, he wielded a fearless pen and wrote in the characteristic manner in which he spoke, in a style of commonsense quality, with no sham about it nor about the arguments which it presented. There was always a strain of humour in what he wrote; he had a strong appreciation of the ridiculous and did not hesitate to express it even at the cost of dignity of diction. He never wrote in mere denunciation, for he had no sympathy with sorrowing Jeremiaeses nor thundering Ezechiels, being ever ready to credit the good already done and never allowing a desirable optimum to obscure his sight of an existing bonum. As a contributor to the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Monsignor Loughlin's articles are marked by their readableness. Necessarily condensed, elegance of style is preserved in diction and allusion, while his gift of infusing interest is always displayed. His contributions for the most part are lives of medieval Popes, the Alexanders, the Clements, and the Pauls. Local Catholic history is also treated by him in the articles on Bishops Conwell and Egan, on Monsignor Corcoran and on Philadelphia. This is a novel and interesting paper on religious discussions and several accounts of religious sects, the most extensive contribution being that which treats of Protestant Confessions of Faith.

As a preacher Monsignor Loughlin was in constant demand from the time of his ordination till the last years of his life. At corner-stone layings, at the dedications of churches and schools again and again he filled the pulpit, not to mention more important functions when he was selected as the speaker of the occasion. Among his most celebrated sermons are those delivered at the episcopal consecrations of the present Archbishop of Philadelphia and of Bishop Shanahan of Harrisburg.

From the standpoint of elocution, the discourses of Monsignor Loughlin were not at all remarkable. He had a harsh voice, not sufficiently varied in intonation. The most beautifully expressed thoughts were often delivered in a most matter of fact and unimpressive manner, but as literary compositions his sermons were gems of the highest polish. His funeral sermon over Father Barry, of Saint Ann's, unfinished in delivery, proved upon reading exquisitely beautiful as a flower. Learned without being ponderous, elegant without sacrifice of strength the sermons of Monsignor Loughlin rank among his best literary remains. Unfortunately too few of them are extant in permanent form; the writer can recall but one volume of collected discourses and three or four single sermons in pamphlets. For some time Monsignor Loughlin contributed to the Saturday edition of the Philadelphia *Ledger* five-minute sermons usually on the subject of the Gospel of the following Sunday. None of his compositions excel these in their power of driving home religious thought in a convincing and beautiful fashion that compelled the admiration of readers of all creeds.

The linguistic abilities of Monsignor Loughlin deserve special mention. To an unusual mastery of Latin and Greek, he added a command of half a dozen modern tongues, notably Italian and German. Many will remember his *tour de force* of a dozen years ago when during the same week he preached in Italian at the laying of the corner-stone of the Church of Our Lady of Good Counsel and addressed a convention of German societies in the Academy of Music in their native tongue. His knowledge of music should not be passed over. He was in charge of the Seminary choir in the early days of his priesthood and throughout his busy career he never lost his hold upon music. At the Nativity, he person-

ally directed the singing and could at need supply the place of the organist. He was among the first priests in the diocese to organize a male choir in accordance with the Papal Motu proprio on Church Music.

With all his talents and scholarly gifts, Monsignor Loughlin remained humble as a saint with a manner most unpretentious, always cheery and witty, always himself with honesty directing his every action, never a *poseur*. The memory of his generosity will ever be green in the minds of the many whom he befriended and on the annals of many institutions which were the recipients of his charity. If he falls short when the high touchstone of greatness is applied to his life, it is because his activities were too varied for his work in any one direction to be thoroughly concentrated and continuous. He lacked the *milieu* in which he could have given full play to his talents, so that it seems matter of regret that in the inscrutable designs of Providence his years were not of life-long association with some great institution of learning of which he would have been a shining light. The impetus which he gave to Catholic culture in the Reading Circles and the Summer School, the inspiration which his scholarly habits gave to all who came within the circle of his influence and the strong ties of friendship which bound him so closely to his fellow-priests will enshrine the name of Monsignor Loughlin in benediction in the memory of thousands, while through the pages of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* he will pass on to posterity the torch of learning which his talents and his industry kept so brightly burning.

WILLIAM J. LALLOU.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE HOLY HOUSE OF LORETO. By Rt. Rev. Alexander MacDonald, D.D., Bishop of Victoria, B. C. Christian Press Association Publishing Co., New York. Price, \$1.25 net.

Immemorial prescription is considered in Canon Law to be the best title in the world (*melior titulus de mundo*), and on this maxim most believers in the authenticity of the Holy House of Loreto are content to rest their faith. Authentic documents of a date contemporaneous with the time of translation to Loreto would indeed be welcomed, but in their default the ancient traditions of two nations furnish a presumption that merits careful consideration and must not be lightly set aside. A perusal of this book will show that many other arguments may be adduced in favor of the traditional position.

The major portion of this volume (pp. 19-211) consists of a searching criticism of Canon Chevalier's book, "Our Lady of Loreto." According to the Bishop, Canon Chevalier attempts to prove: "1—that the Holy House ceased to exist at Nazareth hundreds of years before the date on which it is believed to have been removed from thence by angels, and 2—that what is known to-day as the Holy House of Loreto is in reality the old parish church of St. Mary *in fundo Laureti* (p. 133). On the other hand, the Bishop (p. 120) claims to have "shown that the Holy House . . . at Nazareth disappeared from there about 1291, leaving its foundations behind . . . that a tiny stone structure . . . the *Santa Casa*, was already in 1313 a place of pilgrimage at Loreto; that it stands there at this day without its foundations; that its measurements have been found to correspond exactly to those of the foundations that are left at Nazareth; that all its woodwork is of cedar; that the stone and mortar used in building it are the same as

the stone and mortar used in Nazareth, unlike the stone and mortar used in Italy; that tradition, already in 1485 immemorial, identifies it as the Holy House of Nazareth; and that God Himself has sealed with miracles innumerable the truth of this tradition."

The remainder of the book consists of a "Reply," by the Canon (pp. 212-233), with a "Rejoinder," by the Bishop (pp. 234-311), and criticisms of articles by Fathers Holweck, Beissel, S.J., and Rinieri, S.J. Many pages of the book are written in a style disagreeably reminiscent of the polemical literature of the middle of the last century.

JOSEPH J. MURPHY, J.C.D.

Philadelphia, August 17, 1914.

A DIVINE FRIEND. By Henry C. Schuyler, S.T.L. Peter Reilly, Philadelphia.

The theme which Father Schuyler has chosen for the present volume of his "Virtues of Christ Series," is one of absorbing interest. Friendship is a deep-rooted need of human nature, the satisfaction of which should bring to the human heart aid, consolation, and spiritual development. But it is a thing which may result in disappointment, sorrow and even ruin. It must then be guided and directed by the dictates of religion and right reason if it is to serve the end intended by the Creator. In this, as in all things else, our model is Jesus Christ.

The author's object is to put clearly before the reader's mind the essential features of this virtue on its highest plane of human development, as exemplified in the earthly life of the God-Man. This he does by drawing a series of graphic, vivid, at times dramatic pen-pictures of friendship that existed between Christ and certain chosen souls. His touch is sure. There is just enough coloring to make the picture life-like, enough action to stimulate interest; while the Ideal which he intends to portray, always stands out clear and dominant.

The style, at once forceful and concise, is an evident manifestation of the earnestness of spirit which has impelled him to the composition of these pages. His book is instructive,

will repay study, and at the same time is of permanent value because it deals in a highly interesting manner with an elemental human necessity.—J. A. B.

“THE TWO AMERICAS.” By Frank Rafael Reyes. Frederick A. Stokes Cox.

General Rafael Reyes, a former President of the Republic of Colombia, makes a notable contribution to Pan-American literature by his analytical volume, “The Two Americas.” The work was written in Spanish, and Leopold Grahame made the English translation.

General Reyes did not attempt a history in detail of the South American States, but rather a survey of the Latin countries, comprising data concerning their progress, their prospects and their possibilities.

General Reyes points out the identity of social conditions among the great majority of Latin nations the world over, and asks: “What wonder that there should be a desire to strengthen the bonds of unity and to maintain the worthy ideals of all the descendants of the heroes who discovered and conquered the New World, armed with the sword, the Cross, and the indomitable courage of their race?”

General Reyes declares that while Spanish dominion has disappeared in the new countries, the soul of the Iberian is ever present, and there is an unfading memory of the influence exercised by the Catholic Church in Spain over the destinies of a great part of the New World.

General Reyes tells of his early explorations of the immense and the almost unknown regions between Colombia and Brazil; explorations which lasted over several years, and in which his two brothers lost their lives: the younger, Nestor, was devoured by the Putumayo Cannibals, and Henry died of yellow fever. General Reyes asserts that he was the first traveler to cross the American Continent from the Pacific Coast to reach Para. He succeeded in his object in undertaking the hazardous expedition, which was to discover a river navigable for steamers which could afford means of communication between Colombia and the Amazon.

One of the most interesting chapters in the volume is that devoted to the Republic of Peru. From Mollendo to Paita, almost up to the boundary line of Ecuador, the Peruvian coast is as bare of vegetation as the Desert of Sahara. "Traveling along these arid and barren coasts," says General Reyes, "one is able to appreciate the courage and the energy of Pizarro, Almagro, Valdivia and the other early explorers, who, after leaving the Isthmus of Panama, where tropical vegetation abounded, explored in their primitive vessels this vast region, without finding drinkable water, without seeing a single plant, and far from contact with civilization, without obtaining food." Lima, the capital of Peru, noted for its beautiful buildings and squares of the old Spanish type, "shares with Bogota, Santiago and Quito the possession of a society made up largely of families of pure Spanish race who have inherited the dignity and aristocratic qualities of the highest classes of the mother country."

The discovery of Brazil in 1500, was largely due to the efforts of Pedro Alvarez Cabral, Governor of Barra, and of Senhor de Belmonte, who commanded a squadron which left Lisbon to found a Portuguese colony in the Indies. Endeavoring to keep near the coasts of Africa, the squadron was involuntarily carried by an equatorial current, then unknown, directly to the new continent. On April 24 the entire squadron entered a port (Security Port), and on May 1 the chaplain, Father Enrique de Coimbra, celebrated the first mass in Brazil, "where with due solemnity Cabral took possession of the land in the name of the King of Portugal." The subsequent history of Brazil is briefly sketched.

General Reyes writes entertainingly and instructively of social, industrial and economic conditions in South America, and throws much light upon political and religious matters in the several Republics, which strengthens the opinion of observers that the Republics are capable of development and that they are beginning to learn that their material prosperity awaits a true union of the two Americas.—P. A. KINSLEY.

RECORDS OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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No. 4

AN ECHO OF THE OLD ORDER OF CHURCH AND STATE IN LOUISIANA.

Extract from the Registers of the Audiences of the
Superior Council, Province of Louisiana.

May 7, 1765.

Between the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, Vicar General of the
Diocese of Quebec and of this Province, Plaintiff Peti-
tioner, and the King's Attorney General, collateral.

There has been laid before the Superior Council the
Memorial addressed to the said Council by the Plaintiff,
setting forth the presumptuous encroachment of a Ca-
puchin Father Hilary upon the Jurisdiction of the Ordi-
nary, and at present on that of the Chapter (pending
vacant See), by virtue of some pretended grants to him
as Apostolic Prothonotary, wherewith he cannot have
been empowered save by fraud and by violating the Spir-
itualities of the Holy See, as likewise those of the Sacred
Congregation of the Propaganda; grants, moreover,
which he is all the more audacious in daring to bring be-
fore the Council for the purpose of getting them regis-
tered, since he must needs remember that he has been

driven and banished from the Colony, by Decree of the said Council, forbidding him to come back to it and to make his appearance in it again; the more, too, because although we might suppose and manage to persuade ourselves that the rigor of the Laws tends occasionally to relax itself and not invariably to persist in repressing certain abuses which, in the public order, are just as hurtful to the quiet and security of the Subjects of the State as they are prejudicial to the common edification: on the other hand there are abuses which invite instant remedy by reason of the disastrous consequences in their wake, and is deemed that the abuse now in question is of that kind, and so it seems to merit a Council's attention. Wherefore the said Plaintiff, who in his office of Vicar General has believed himself authorized and even in duty bound to lodge his grievances touching the fact declared in the title of his Memorial, ventures to flatter himself that the Council will deign to rectify the disorder and repress the presumptuous encroachment of the aforesaid Father Hilary upon the Ordinary's jurisdiction; especially since his pretended grants can have no basis, nor valid operation, in a titular Bishopric such as is that of Quebec even still to-day: wherein there is no room for acknowledging other Jurisdiction than that of the Diocesan Bishop.

Among the manuscripts left by Mr. Griffin to A.C.H.S., there is a French transcript styled:

"Extrait des Registres des Audiences du Conseil Supérieur de la Province de la Louisiane."

The same is accompanied with a letter from the Librarian of Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, who comments as follows (July 20, 1907):

"I am greatly obliged to you for the document respecting Father Hilary, which I now return. At the end you say "from broadside in the Congressional Library." Do I understand from that that it is a sheet printed on one side only in single column? I lay emphasis on the printing and on the one side. If printed, it is the earliest piece of

printed matter that we know of coming before the protest of the inhabitants. It is also, so far as I know, the only extract from proceedings before the Superior Council of the provinces." (For want of contrary memorandum in the envelope containing the said transcript and letter, an affirmative answer to the Librarian's question is assumed not unreasonably.)

The French extract is translated herewith; and since much of the original is recorded in the shape of detached *clauses*, leaving the predicates and formal connectives to be supplied from the context, they have been so supplied according to common-sense deduction.—EDITOR.

Now seeing that the Council is cognizant of the truth of these principles, and well aware that although there dwells in the Church a genuine, legitimate and independent authority for the Spiritual domain, yet the Church has no constraining power, and can inflict none but mere canonical penalties towards repressing any abuses which may steal into her bosom, therefore the Plaintiff has flattered himself that the Council will deign to admit his said grievance and apply legal remedy thereto by showing the grants of the aforesaid Father Hilary in their true light and accordingly declaring them null and void, not only as having been obtained by fraud, but also as being untenable in point of execution. So, then, in view of this fact, and seeing the audacious conduct of the aforesaid Father Hilary, so misleading in the process of obtaining his pretended grants, which conflict with the lawful authority of the Ordinary, and are liable to beget uncertainty and confusion in the Colony, if not actual revolt against lawful authority altogether: the Plaintiff in his office of Vicar General to the late Lord Bishop of Quebec, and in enjoyment of the same office under the Chapter of the same Diocese (pending vacant See); which faculties he substantiates by his terms of appointment dated the twenty-second September one thousand seven hundred sixty, dares to hope that the Council will deign to do justice to his petition, and consequently proceed to the regis-

tration of his appointment as Vicar General, as well as registering the injunction against the said Father Hilary, and so effectually apprising him thereof under seal of the law that he cannot evade knowing the same; and furthermore inflicting on him such penalty as the Council shall approve, and particularly that of observing and heeding his ban, so as forthwith to leave the Colony, and that by the first vessel sailing for France: and inasmuch as it would not be becoming to leave the Colony without a first Ecclesiastical Superior Major, on account of the possible contingent needs of having recourse to him, the Plaintiff in his office aforesaid still beseeches the Council to be so good as to register the faculties of special Grand Vicar which he has seen fit to address to the Reverend Father Dagobert, whom he has judged on the strength of the sundry reports and favorable testimonials which have been tendered him in the case, as one likely to prove acceptable to the Colony, and the most adapted to fulfil worthily and to the general edification this important office: and besides, and in the event of the Council's resolving that there might be some new regulations in order for the Spiritual Government for the Colony, he craves to be advised herein and promises that he will gladly accede to the same. Seeing also the letter written by the said Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to the late Mr. Dabbadie under date of the first February last; *item*, the letter written to the King's Attorney General, whereby he petitions the public administration under date of second February last; *item*, that of His Grace the Duke de Choisen Minister and Secretary of State, written to Mr. Dabbadie from Compiègne under date of the thirty-first July last; *item*, the injunction against Father Hilary, Capuchin, signed Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, having on the margin the Seal of his Arms, and being countersigned by Nicolet his said Secretary; together with grants by

the Vicar General of the Diocese of Quebec, addressed to the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu (pending vacant See) under date of twenty-second September one thousand seven hundred sixty, the Original of which happens to be filed in the law offices of Master Baron, Notary in Paris; the Decree of Council dated nineteenth August one thousand seven hundred fifty-eight, providing and ordaining that in view of the infringements of its injunction, and the known and repeated disobedience of Father Hilary, Capuchin Religious, he should be straightway sent back to France to his Convent, in order to live there after his Rule; that the said Reverend Father Dagobert his Superior should be enjoined to direct him so to do by virtue of the obedience which he owes to him; and that in default of obedience on the part of the said Father Hilary towards his said Superior, the King's Attorney General would address himself if need were, to Messrs. the Governor and Intendant Commissary, for them to supply him with assistance and to enforce the desired obedience: *item*, another Decree of Council, dated eighth September one thousand seven hundred sixty-four, providing and ordaining that on the approval of the Reverend Father Dagobert, the said Father Hilary would be recognized in the capacity of Superior of the Missions in this Province, in which event his commission should be registered in the Registers of the Clerk's Office in Council, so as to give it full and entire effect: seeing also a Pamphlet entitled "Catechism for the Province of Louisiana," &c., "prepared by the Reverend Father Hilary, Prothonotary of the Holy See and Superior General of the Mission of the Capuchins in the said Province; the same to be the only one taught in his said Mission;" on the reverse of which title-page is likewise printed, "Inspected by us, Commissary General of the Navy and Commander General, the present Book entitled (*Catechism for the Pro-*

vince of Louisiana), which we permit to be put in Print : and we ordain that it shall be the only one to be taught in the said Province. At New Orleans, the twenty-fourth December one thousand seven hundred sixty-four. (Signed) Dabadie. All being thoroughly examined, together with the conclusions in writing by the King's Attorney General, which were officially filed ;”

Wherefore the Council, confirming the Decree rendered on the eighth September last, has enjoined and does enjoin and forbid the said Father Hilary from interfering in any Jurisdiction of the Church save what is allowed him by his sole title of Superior of the Mission of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers in this Colony ; does likewise prohibit and forbid him henceforth from wearing any of the outward ornaments of the demi-episcopate and from assuming the office of Apostolic Prothonotary of the Holy See, until the Court of France, or that of Madrid, shall have otherwise ordained. *Item*, the Council has ordained and ordains that the Pamphlet entitled *Cathechism for the Province of Louisiana, prepared by the Reverend Father Hilary, Prothonotary of the Holy See, etc.*, though this without pronouncing on Dogmas, shall be and shall remain suppressed, owing to the presumptuous expansion of his Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction : that all the copies thereof which are out shall be brought back to the Clerk's Office in Council, to be there deposited ; with prohibition to all Printers as regards putting the work in press for the future, and as regards retailing it, under pain of being criminally prosecuted by action of the King's Attorney General : with consequent injunction to all parish priests, Curates and Missionaries, Regents, Schoolmasters, amenable to the Superior Council of this Colony, henceforth to teach the former catechism as used in Paris, until other provisions be made in the matter : and neither does the Council pronounce on the registrations of the Creden-

tials accorded to the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu (pending vacant See) as Vicar General, or on those granted by the Plaintiff to the Reverend Father Dagobert as special Grand Vicar, or on the registration of the Injunction against Father Hilary, addressed by the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu to the King's Attorney General: nay rather, the Council has adjourned the said Registrations until the said documents be authorized by an order from the Court of France, or from that of Madrid.

Item, the Council has ordained and ordains that collated copies of the present Decree shall be sent to His Grace the Duke de Choiseul, and distributed through all the posts offices of the Colony.

The King's Attorney General and his Deputies are enjoined to see to the execution hereof.

Given in the Council Chamber, the seventh May, one thousand seven hundred sixty-five.

By the Council.

GARIC, RECORDER.

"From a Broadside in Library of Congress."

LIFE OF BISHOP CONWELL

BY MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN

CHAPTER XI. (*Continued*)

And if we ask, what then made Hogan so strong and intrenched him so stubbornly in the camp of the advocates, we are told by "A Letter to the Catholics of Philadelphia":

"What is it that has endeared this gentleman so much to his congregation? What is it that has made him so attached to them? Why it was his unmerited persecution; his zeal for their spiritual welfare; his great attention to the children of the poor; his humanity in relieving all who applied to him in their spiritual or pecuniary distress; his amiable and unsophisticated manners and his gentlemanly deportment to all whether rich or poor, these are the links of a great chain which has bound the hearts of a great multitude to his interests." In a word, Hogan clearly possessed some qualities of personal magnetism when he chose to exert it; the more the pity that his contrary elements of pride, and scorn of superior authority, spurred him to courses of ruin for himself and vexation to the Church.

The closing days of January, 1822, and February 1 and 2 were occupied with the suit for possession of St. Mary's Church. Justices Tilghman and Duncan heard the counsel for the Bishop and the counsel for Hogan discuss canon law herein. Finally, on February 2, Hogan was bound over in \$250 security (reduced from \$4,000) to appear at the next term of court.

It were futile to review sundry extraneous features of the Hogan strife, such as quips and wrangling over the form of excommunication used by Bishop Conwell; nor will any but students of Latin care to revive the discussion once keen enough about Hogan's letter "in shockingly bad Latin" to Archbishop Maréchal, his suffragans, and all administrators of parishes in the United States. Hogan styles himself, in the said letter, "William, by the grace and mercy of God, Pastor of St. Mary's." He sets forth that he has been unjustly censured and excommunicated by Bishop Conwell; that he had appealed to the Archbishop, and after waiting five weeks for an answer had asked for a provincial council to determine his case, and all in vain. Wherefore he now asks that the Prelates assemble in National Council to take action in the matter. But if they refuse to do so, he will deem it his duty to provide the Church of Philadelphia with suitable ministers.

Even Bishop England, usually of temperate utterance, declared this letter to be "a farrago of falsehood and impiety and ignorance. Such arrogant imbecility, such ignorance of the law, of history, of discipline and of orthography. Such a want of common sense as well as of common prudence." Bishop Conwell had the letter printed under the heading: "The Latin Commonwealth vs. William, Pastor." He called on all lovers of the Latin language to note its errors, forty-one in number, independently of a total want of classical Latinity. Hogan quotes against the Bishop's harsh action the passage on professing to love God whilst yet hating one's brother, but he makes no reference to the same St. John's injunctions towards walking in the commandments of God on the side of rightful authority.

Matthew Carey, it is true, who is credited with the pamphlets signed "A Catholic Layman," first gauged

the situation adversely to the Bishop, whom he charged with "an egregious violation of canonical rules, and an arbitrary exercise of power, and obstinate adherence to a cause originally adopted through inattention to those rules and an overwhelming idea of Episcopal authority, which, however it might be received or submitted to in Ireland, is not suited to this meridian. Perhaps, too, the common failing of persistence in error rather than make an open acknowledgment of fallibility has its share in producing the Bishop's action, a decision which great minds scorn." Father Harold's "Reply to a Catholic Layman's Address" was bitterly answered in *Strictures* thereon from the Hogan camp, accusing him of like insubordination to Bishop Egan in his time. The *Strictures*, however, seem to have been designed, apart from their personalities at Father Harold's expense, largely for electioneering ends, being signed by the candidates for the renewed Board of Trustees. Their names were John Doyle, John Dempsey, Augustine Fagan, John Ashley, Patrick Connell, John Leamy, Joseph Dugan and Joseph Strahan.

In the light of tranquil retrospect, yonder "war of pamphlets" was a miserable waste of time, and not least so the letter of one *Pacificus*, in *Relt's Gazette and Advertiser* of March 6, 1822. In highly inflated rhetoric "Pacificus" argues that whereas the Pope is openly slighted in professedly Catholic countries, yet avoids redress through censure and the ban, let him also be defied with impunity by St. Mary's congregation. Sticklers for the "supremacy and infallibility of the Papal power and authority" will make no headway in free America; better come to terms gracefully with their enlightened brethren of St. Mary's. Between the lines of this philosophic effusion, there lurks a complacent sneer for St. Peter's lineal successor; and the author's conception of

the Catholic Church ought to satisfy both Protestants and infidels for its arbitrary rejection of a divinely-guarded Apostolic institution.

For a detached view at a distance from both parties, we may cite this brief note from Bishop Cheverus of Boston to Mgr. Plessis of Quebec :

“The poor Bishop of Philadelphia would have been far happier had he never left Ireland. Hogan continues his schism after having renounced it on bended knees before the Bishop of Charleston. Two days later he took it up again. He sent to the Bishop a letter written in very poor Latin. It is full of barbarisms and solecisms, a proof that the author no longer belongs to the Latin Church.” (From Archbishop’s Palace, Quebec.)

Before the election, Mr. J. R. Ingersol, counsel for Hogan’s faction, wrote as follows to Thomas Kittera, counsel for Bishop Conwell and his supporters :

Dear Sir :

The present Trustees of St. Mary’s Church are desirous of conducting the approaching election so as to avoid disturbance and to give the congregation the fullest and fairest opportunity to vote. They therefore propose that arrangements having these objects in view, should be previously made by the gentlemen who represent the respective parties, these arrangements to provide for the time of opening and closing the polls, the mode of selecting Judges and any other preparatory measures, for accommodation and peace. Will you have the goodness to communicate this suggestion and inform me whether a disposition exists to concur in such an effort as I have proposed.

Yours truly,

J. R. INGERSOL.

Thos. Kittera, Esq.

Chis. March 5th, 1822.

Mr. Kittera answered :

Dear Sir :

The committee who have employed counsel in relation to the affairs at St. Mary's Church have instructed as in reply to your note, to say, that they do not consider themselves authorized to bind the members of the congregation by any agreement as to the mode of conducting the election. On their part, every effort will be made to preserve peace, and conduct the election conformably to the act of incorporation.

Yours truly,

THOS. KITTERA.

J. R. Ingersol,
March 22, 1822.

(Note on date "Friday April 8," Tuesday, April 9, and Wednesday, April 10, show that Friday in the same April did not fall on the 8th; Friday, April 5th would agree with order of events.)

If we are to trust the reports of the preliminaries from the Hogan side, his faction seems to have taken reasonable steps towards holding an outwardly peaceable election, whatever the significance of packed pews on the score of inward artifice. According to Edward Barry, one of the judges of election who favored Hogan's cause : "On Friday the 8th [5th?] of April, the Trustees of St. Mary's Church received an order from Bishop Conwell for a meeting of the Board. The members were accordingly convened and met on Saturday the 6th. The Bishop himself did not appear, but the Rev. Messrs. Cooper and Cumiskey were present. A resolution was passed and agreed to by all the members, empowering the lay Trustees to conduct the election and that the expenses should be paid by the corporation. To prevent the scenes of riot and confusion, which the public rumor had announced would inevitably take place, and it was

well known that persons had been sent for by the opposite party from the country within 40 or 50 miles of this city, to increase their forces, the lay Trustees proposed to the Rev. gentlemen, that each party should exhibit a fair statement of the pews, or of the votes each pew was entitled to, and whoever had the majority should be put into peaceable possession of the church. This was not agreed to." The judges and inspectors for the Hogan party were Bernard McCredy, Barney Quinn, Felix McGuigan, Charles Bazely, Edward Barry, B. Gallagher, Joseph Blame, William McGlinchy, Nicholas Keaogh, Timothy Desmond, Peter Snyder and Joseph Harrison. For the Bishop, Philip Smith, Hugh Cavanaugh, Lewis Ryan, James Brady, and Thomas Maitland.

It appears that when the election came to pass, the officers of each side received the votes of the respective parties on opposite sides of the Church. The judges for Hogan reported "287 majority" for their candidate; judges for the Bishop, "a majority of 435 votes." Subsequent proceedings failed to establish either figure, but it seems probable that Hogan had a majority if the holders of the new pews, making 130 additional votes by estimate of five to a pew, were officially counted.

To adduce all the documents describing the attendant riot, would be granting disproportionate space to combinations and permutations of data relating a common brawl and fracas. Human nature in such conditions is much alike in all times and places; the particular anomaly on this occasion attaches to the circumstance that it was a *church* election, where mob violence ought to have had no part at all. But for the sake of an essentially complete narrative, we will review certain pertinent passages from the contemporary records, whether by friend or foe, or by neutral third parties. The date of election was Tuesday, April 8, 1822.

"Democratic Press, Wednesday evening, April 10, 1822: It appears that on Sunday last, agreeably to the act of incorporation, immediately after divine service, the Reverend Mr. Hogan, from the altar, announced that on the following Tuesday (yesterday), between the hours of 11 and 1, an election for eight Trustees would be held at the Church of St. Mary's. It further appears that a considerable number of persons, supporters of the Bishop, were early in the morning in the graveyard, in which stands the Church. In the morning about 6 o'clock those in favor of the present Trustees assembled in Fourth Street in front of the church. The two parties were now separated only by a cast-iron railing about six feet high, raised on a parapet about four feet high. Owing to the extreme pressure from without, this railing was overturned and blows and brick bats were quickly interchanged. This lasted for about 10 or 15 minutes, when the Mayor of the city, accompanied by some peace officers, entered the church yard by a gate on Fourth Street. To the credit of both parties be it said, they submitted at once to authority. The party in Fourth Street now, about 10 o'clock, represented to the Mayor that they had chosen their Judges but that the other party would not allow them to enter the church. The Mayor immediately directed way to be made for the Judges of the election and they entered the church and placed themselves at the windows on the South side to receive votes as soon as the election should be opened. It was now respectfully represented to the Mayor that the persons thus put in as judges were not legally chosen, inasmuch as the Judges by law should not be chosen until 11 o'clock. The Mayor expressed his desire that everything should be done not only peaceably but legally. So soon as 11 o'clock arrived, Judges of the election were proposed and elected by the party in the

church yard. These Judges proceeded into the church, the Judges who had been elected in Fourth Street leaving the windows on the south side of the church, they were taken possession of by the Judges elected in the yard, while those who had been elected in Fourth Street took possession of the windows on the north side of the Church. The Judges on both sides received the votes which were offered until 1 o'clock, at which time, agreeably to law, the poll closed. During all this time the most perfect tranquillity prevailed. The votes were now summed up on both sides, but, from some hurry, irregularity or inadvertence in the officers, the votes taken on the north side were not added to those taken on the south, nor those taken on the south side added to those taken on the north. It is represented that the judges on the south side proclaimed that they had taken 509 votes for the Trustees friendly to the Bishop and 74 votes for the Trustees friendly to Mr. Hogan, and that therefore the Trustees friendly to the Bishop were elected by a majority of 435. The names of the clerical Trustees were then announced. Immediately after this the Judges on the north side of the church proclaimed that the Trustees friendly to Mr. Hogan were elected by a majority of 287 and that the Trustees had reappointed Mr. Hogan, Pastor of the Church. Thus it appears that two sets of Trustees are declared elected; of course the matter will go before the Supreme Court, when the whole subject will be investigated and right and justice be administered according to law.

The transcript of a statement "To the Public" by the judges friendly to Bishop Conwell is a very long jumble of muddled language, and offers no material contradiction to the plain report just cited from the ostensibly dispassionate *Democratic Press*. It accuses the Hogan party of tampering with the votes and the returns, but

repeats the same respective claims : majority of 435 votes for the Conwell board, out of 509 votes in all ; and gives the alleged majority for Hogan's board, 287 votes. Much as one may discredit Hogan's position from the start, and regret Bishop Conwell's misfortunes at the hands of actual schismatics, it seems idle to attempt to clear the Conwell judges of arrant sophistry in their claim of a *net* majority, 148 votes over Hogan's alleged majority, 287 votes. They thereby assume that their count, 509 votes in all, is unimpeachably correct ; if so, subtract Hogan's alleged 287 majority from the Conwell majority, 435 votes, and we do indeed obtain a visible remainder 148, but we cannot so easily define it, as the Conwell judges did, "an aggregate majority for the trustees above stated of 148 of all the votes taken on the occasion." Hogan's judges announced a *majority* vote, 287 ; and one cannot have two valid majorities at one and the same election. In a word, the Conwell judges would have us implicitly agree with their style of counting : total 509 votes ; Conwell majority, 435 ; Hogan majority, 287 ; Conwell net majority, 148. On the face of it, this is an absurdity, and the only logic is to suppose the Hogan party in error for saying "majority" when they may have meant sum-total votes on their side. There is no hint, of course, of a short count on either side, as "from some hurry, irregularity or inadvertence in the officers" (a point noticed by the *Democratic Press*). To the Hogan party's accusation of premature tactics by the Conwell party, inside the church, the Conwell judges "further declare that no person belonging to their party entered or remained in the Church during the morning except two of the subscribers, L. Ryan, & J. Brady, who both of delicate constitutions entered at a window after the riot commenced with a view of saving their lives from the danger prevailing." The Conwell statement is signed

by Philip Smith, Hugh Cavanaugh, Lewis Ryan, James Brady, Thomas Maitland.

Father Kenny, to be sure, in his *Diary* (date of April 13) calls the Conwell statement "as correct a document as was ever submitted to public inspection."

On the Hogan side, a public account was put forth by Edward Barry, and certified for its correctness by Charles W. Bazeley, Bernard McCreedy, Joseph Blame, B. Gallagher, Peter Snyder, Felix McGuigan, Barnett Quinn, William McGlincy, Timothy Desmond, Nicholas Riveugh. (Some of these names have undergone obvious mutations in the process of transcribing.) Their version explains the overwhelming Conwell majority by charge of unfair counting: "It was at this time that I proclaimed the results of our legal election. The self-elected Judges of the opposite party, in giving their return, took no notice of the number of votes we received for our Trustees, hence we can account for the majority which they claim. But the refusal to issue a fair statement of their pews, plainly shows that they could never carry the election on equitable grounds. Why invite people from the neighboring towns, if they knew they had a majority? Why arm themselves and take forcible possession of the graveyard? They knew they could not succeed in a fair election. Mr. Fagan asserts that he and Mr. H. Cavanaugh received a handful of tickets from one voter. The hat containing the votes at the window at which Messrs. Smith and Cavanaugh presided was concealed from the view of the voters until requested to be placed at the window. Mr. Doyle says he saw Mr. Smith receive two votes at a time and some of our tickets were found rolled up in the receipts, under the benches where their Judges sat, and yet these are the people who boast of a fair election. The public are to judge. Why were their tickets printed on pink paper unless for some unfair purpose?"

Why were Harold and Mr. Cummiskey seen marching through the ranks *spiriting* up their friends?" . . .

The like accusations of bad faith were flatly denied by the other side, and it was proposed that "five respectable *Protestants*" be invited to inspect "a fair statement of the pews," and so decide "who are and who are not the choice of the congregation." Moreover, the Conwell rejoinder now tenders an explanation of the confusing double "majorities," as follows: "We stated that at the close of the poll, at one o'clock by Mr. Leamy's watch, we announced the number of votes given for both the tickets, leaving us a majority of 435 votes. This you cannot venture to contradict. We stated that when you announced the number of votes taken by your judges, you did not state the number of votes given for either ticket but proclaimed a majority of 287 votes, and you say not a word to question the correctness of our statement. . . . We stated that the late lay Trustees were outvoted by 148 votes, and we are not contradicted by Edward Barry. . . . We are ready to contradict on our oaths the assertions stated by Mr. Barry to have been made by Messrs. Fagan and Doyle." As in a chorus of *Katydid*s, the two premises *katydid* and *katydid*'nt become reiterated in such conflicting reciprocity that one fails to clinch any downright conclusion. But palpably the Conwell board argued correctly in the contention that mere voting were futile to determine the possession of St. Mary's Church as between Catholics and schismatics or outsiders whatsoever. Here, at least, Bishop Conwell's cause is vindicated by the present Catholic title and status of St. Mary's parish.

Father Jordan's account flatters neither party: "On Tuesday of Easter week, the annual election of trustees of St. Mary's Church took place. The Bishopites might as well have let it pass unnoticed; it was already deter-

mined that the Leamy-Meade party should be elected. But no, if they did not get the election, they should, at least, have the fight. Sunrise saw young men and buxom maids, who had no vote, trudging in from Germantown, Manayunk and Chester, and Darby, and even from over the waters, to do and die, for Bishop and for Church. It was on this day of days, that an aged gentleman uttered the memorable threat: 'if they do not treat the Bishop better I'll go over till Jarsay and never come back to Americay again.' But this is no joking matter, it was no comedy, it was in more respects than one a tragedy. Persons at this day (1874) can tell you, how bricks were thrown from the windows of the Church upon the head of the hapless Bishopites whilst striving to vote, how young men would stand in Indian file and the backmost would ascend a cellar door, so as to give greater impetus, whilst the head of the foremost made a most convenient battering ram to butt between the kidneys of some thoughtless Hoganite, who was laughing at the funny sight of some Bishopite rendered *hors de combat* and hastening home with bloody head or crippled limb. Both parties can tell you how the iron rail swayed backwards and forwards, like a reed shaken by the wind, and at last fell with a crash, that caused a piercing shriek of anguish from many a wife and mother, kneeling in the corner of her room, with her little ones, praying for the dear ones. . . . Yes, that iron railing fell with a crash, and many a heart that beat loyally for Catholicity, for a time was stilled in auguish, and the casket of many a whole-souled Catholic was mangled and disfigured for life. And some of those, who then left the Church of their Baptism, might tell you how while Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell, D.D., and Rev. Samuel Cooper, and Rev. Terence McGirr, and Rev. Patrick Kenny, yea, and Rev. Wm. Vincent Harold, O.S.D., stood at the N. E. Corner

of 4th Street and Willing's Alley, *oilstock* in hand and *pyxis* near the trembling heart, to follow the bleeding forms of the wounded into the house of Charles Johnson, Sr., and other good Samaritans: Mr. William Hogan, in concert with the delicate, lady-like daughters of rebel Catholics raised shouts of laughter that could be heard above the shrieks of the wounded; which unnatural cachinnation, thanks be to God, who can draw good out of evil, has brought more than one Protestant who heard it, into the happy folds of Christ's Church. It was truly a fearful day, still with all the odds against them, Joseph Snyder, John Carrell, Sr., Cornelius Tiers, Dennis McCready, Nicholas Stafford, William Myers, Nicholas Esling, and James Eneu, Sr., were elected trustees of St. Mary's Church, receiving 437 votes, although J. Cadwalader, Esq., decided that John Leamy, John Ashley and their party received 497. It may be true that they did, but the excess came from the votes of the occupants of those pews which had been erected after the withdrawal of the Bishop, whose consent was necessary, as President according to the charter. Unhappy day! The difficulty still remained. . . . For a short while there was peace, and Rev. William Vincent Harold acted as pastor, but the truce was of short duration, and the sacrilegious Hogan again officiated at the altar of St. Mary's." (Woodstock Letters, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1874.)

It will be perceived that Father Jordan's election figures diverge from the returns previously quoted; but in a case of so many conflicting particulars all told, mathematical precision is not to be expected, not even in arithmetic. (In fact, however, Father Jordan refers to a later count, to be described beyond.)

The Rev. Patrick Kenny, of Coffee Run, Delaware, then visiting Philadelphia, notes the following details in his diary:

April 8th. At St. Joseph's for dinner. All is bustle for the election to-morrow. The pew holders on the Catholic side spent the whole night in St. Joseph's Chapel. (April 9): Hogan, the butcher of character and this day the butcher of men, slaughtered by the hands of his vile anti-Catholic party, a number of valuable persons and was the cause of the maiming of a great number of John Ashley's and Augustine Fagan's party. Philadelphia disgraced itself forever: its mob vociferated the sentiments of its inhabitants and its courts of law, 'Down with the Pope and Popery!' and stoned to death its Catholic citizens. O Penn, the above apostates and their olive-branch Orangemen or Free Masons, *soi-disant* Catholics, have set all your philanthropy at defiance. Philadelphia worse than Derry for Catholics. (April 10:) Visited the wounded. (April 11:) Mass in St. Joseph's for Joseph Myers badly wounded." (Father Kenny went home on same day. His ejaculations manifestly reflect his excitement of the moment, and come far short of justice to the sober mind of all Philadelphia, then, as now, towards the Catholic Church.)

The riot seems to have gained in accidents of a picturesque sort as time elapsed. Hogan, for instance, in 1846, refers to Bishop Conwell's *blessing the sticks of his defenders*, in St. Joseph's yard. There was no such profaning of the episcopal dignity; neither did "guns, blunderbuses, pistols and swords" come into play with the Bishop's party. But that it was nevertheless a serious fray, appears from a subsequent comment by one of the Supreme Court judges, referably to amendments in the charter of St. Mary's Church. "An election was held. It was attended by scenes equally unpleasant to recount as to witness. Notwithstanding the impressive exhortations of the Chief Justice that 'duty to God and our country should not be forgotten,' the ground was

made 'a scene of riot and bloodshed.' The noise, alarm and anxiety of a furious and uncontrollable conflict agitated the whole community, and 800 or 1000 combatants, armed with deadly weapons and mutually exasperated to madness, were in the heart of a populous city, setting law, order and decency at defiance." Hogan and his friends viewed the scene from a dentist's abode, at N. E. corner of Fourth and Prune (now Locust) Streets. Father Harold and his associates, as noted by Father Jordan, stood at the N. E. corner of Fourth Street and Willing's Alley, near the present entrance to St. Joseph's courtyard. The wounded were taken to Mellon's drug-store at N. E. corner of Fourth and Walnut Streets and to a drug store at Fourth and Pine Streets.

When we consider the assessed sums of material damages to property in connection with the riot, the amount seems not so formidable, by far, as one ordinarily associates with mob depredations. Adam Faquair, the viewer on marble coping, assessed the cost price of new marble required, at "about Thirty Dollars, without including any other labour or jobbing that may be necessary to be done by marble masons." Viewers Joshua Andrews and Buddell Toy report (April 11, 1832): "Having assess'd the damage done at St. Mary's Church on the 9th of April, 1822, to the yard, wall, pavement and sundry places and find it worth to repare (*sic*) the brick work including materials, the sum of forty dollars." Again, "We, the subscribers, having examined the Glass broken in St. Mary's Church, exclusive of the lights, taken out for the purpose of Election other crack glass, find it worth Twenty-three dollars forty cents.

THOS. STEWART,
TIM'Y DESMOND."

To crown the Hogan cause with a demonstration in

behalf of public law and order, his Trustees inserted this impressive notice in the daily papers of April 12, 1822 :

ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

A Card.

The subscribers, Trustees of St. Mary's Church, for the congregation and themselves, return their most grateful thanks to the Mayor and High Sheriffs of Philadelphia, Aldermen Douglas and Barker, and their assistants, for the prompt measures they adopted to suppress the violence of an armed, lawless mob, collected from different states and places, and who were marched between 3 and 4 o'clock on Tuesday morning, from Willing's Alley, where Bishop Conwell and the Rev. Messrs. Harold, Cummiskey and Cooper reside, and forcibly entered the burial ground and church, for the purpose of overawing and intimidating the Roman Catholics worshipping at St. Mary's Church, from exercising their privilege of electing in a free, fair, and unbiassed manner, the trustees for the said Church. They also take this public opportunity of acknowledging that it is, under Providence, owing to their exertions that many valuable lives have not been sacrificed to the sanguinary vengeance of the instigators and promoters of such a scandalous, disgraceful and horrible outrage.

JOHN LEAMY

JOHN DOYLE

JOHN ASHLEY

PATRICK CONNELL

JOSEPH DUGAN

JOHN DEMPSEY

JOSEPH STRAHAN

AUGUSTINE FAGAN.

Some doggerel verses on the riot, "The Battle of St. Mary's," were preserved in the Ridgway Library, where possibly they may still interest some antiquarian delvers after the street lore of bygone Philadelphia.

Bishop Conwell thus refers to the tumult in a letter to Mgr. Plessis, July 4, 1822 :

"We had serious trouble here at Easter on the occasion of election of Trustees for St. Mary's Church. Perhaps 200 persons were wounded; the clergy were not

concerned. The non-Catholics retain still the possession by violence, aided by the prejudices of all descriptions and sects, and the good Catholics of this city are every day becoming better Christians, so as that I can declare, we had more communicants this year, than there had been formerly in three years. The lawsuits which this has produced, are innumerable."

CHAPTER XII.

THE DISPUTED ELECTION REFERRED TO GENERAL CADWALADER AS UMPIRE. HE DECLARES IN FAVOR OF THE HOGANITES. BISHOP CONWELL TO MGR. PLESSIS. ORDINATIONS. HOGAN OFFERS PEACE. THINKS IT OVER AND REJECTS THE BISHOP'S TERMS. CONFIRMATION IN WEST CHESTER. LANCASTER IS GIVEN TO THE BISHOP AS MENSAL. BISHOP CONWELL TO ARCHBISHOP MARÉCHAL.

Each side persisting in the claim of legally elected incumbents, a compromise was proposed at the Board meeting on April 12, 1822, and endorsed on April 20, whereby the signatures of the pewholders were to be obtained with a view to determining "who shall be Trustees." Joseph Dugan was chosen Treasurer of the Board. For those times he was a man of ample fortune; seeing that his estate was valued at \$400,000 (in 1846).

A Committee of the Trustees for Hogan, and one for the Bishop, met and agreed upon Horace Binney and Clement C. Biddle for selecting "a distinguished stranger" to act as umpire in settlement of the disputed election. They named the Hon. Thomas Cadwalder, and Messrs. D. McCreedy and J. Carrell, Jr., were appointed a committee to notify him. The umpire should receive the signatures of all pewholders, and his finding in respect to

the resultant majority would settle the disputed issue. General Cadwalader accepted the proposal, and the formalities proceeded in behalf of a new count, arranged for the date May 2. General Cadwalader stipulated the following order of business:

"The signatures of the pewholders of the three aisles below and of the North, South and West Gallery shall be severally collected by the two Committees as in favor of one or the other set of Trustees. Those lists shall be scrutinized by the two Committees in my presence as umpire and such signatures as are admitted without question to be acknowledged by the umpire and to be inserted in his lists, as to the signatures of persons to whom objections shall be made by either Committee those persons shall be admitted by the Committees in the presence of the umpire, to have their claims decided upon, provided that the two persons belonging to the one aisle or gallery only shall be admitted at the same time. The order of rotation shall be as follows: North Aisle, Middle Aisle, South Aisle, North, South Gallery, West Gallery.

T. CADWALADER."

The principal accessory contention was over the voting right of the holders of the twenty-six new pews. At first General Cadwalader seems to have doubted their competency, but this displeased the Hogan party, and if we are to follow the text of Father Kenny's Diary, they declined to be governed by the General's finding, on such terms. Father Kenny notes (May 24): "Received a letter from Rev. Mr. Cummiskey apprising me of the schismatics refusing to abide by Gen. Cadwalader's decision. This I anticipated. "However, the umpire finally admitted the additional voters, and so turned the result in favor of Hogan. Ere long it was also thrown up to Father Harold that he had used the same tactics (packed

voters) in his contest with Bishop Egan. But since at the utmost a decision confirming the Hogan Board of Trustees could not repeal his excommunication, we will not delay further over the futile correspondence between the two parties on account of the election returns. General Cadwalader found that 497 votes had been cast for the Hogan Board of Trustees (John Leamy, John Ashley, Joseph Dugan, Joseph Strahan, John Doyle, Patrick Connell, John Dempsy and Augustine Fagan); 437 votes for the Bishop's upholders (Joseph Snyder, John Carrell, Jr., Cornelius Tiera, D. McCreedy, N. Stafford, William Myers, Nicholas Esling, and Joseph Eneu). The majority of 60 for Hogan's Board came from including 130 votes for the 26 new pews. Judge Cadwalader construed it binding on the umpire to count "all the pewholders," not going behind the facts as to any question of unfair "packing." The umpire's decision was rendered on June 22. As we learn from Father Kenny's Diary, Bishop Conwell was in Delaware, on a round of pastoral visitation, from June 19 though June 22.

Bishop England rightly observed (*Catholic Miscellany*) "It (the umpire's decision) may vest the Church in Mr. Hogan's employers, but it cannot restore him to the Catholic communion from which he has been separated, nor bestow on him jurisdiction which has been regularly withdrawn from him."

In recognition of the same facts, Bishop Conwell's adherents tendered the following appeal to the schismatic Trustees:

PHILADELPHIA, *July 6, 1822.*

Gentlemen:

As pewholders in St. Mary's Church, we feel ourselves so seriously aggrieved and injured as to render it necessary to seek for the removal of the wrong which is done to us, or for such redress as the laws of the land will afford in the case. We

conceive it to be our undoubted right to enjoy the privileges and comforts of the Catholic worship in St. Mary's Church; and that the right to a pew in that Church, which we severally hold and for which we pay, is violated by the disturbance of those privileges. To every Catholic, it is essential, that the services of the Church be performed by a priest duly authorized to administer therein, and we conceived it to be our conscientious duty to forbear to join in the worship which is pretended to be offered by one who is under the censure of the Church. The possession of St. Mary's Church and the regulation of its worship are in your hands, and in the exercise of the power which you have, you see fit to introduce into the Church for its constant service, a man who is not only not authorized but forbidden by the authority of the Church to exercise the priestly functions, and upon whose ministrations we cannot in conscience attend. The exercise of power on your part is a violation of our rights as pewholders in the Church, and as we believe, is such an aggression upon our property as renders you answerable to the laws of the land.

We respectfully request that you will immediately cause the evil of which we complain to be removed; and now give you notice that if this request be not complied with, we shall severally appeal to the courts of Justice, by action for damages with the hope of obtaining that redress, which the serious character of our case demands.

We are, Gentlemen, respectfully
Yr. Ob. Servts.

To Messrs.

John Leamy	Charles O'Hara	
John Ashley	Joseph Snyder	
Joseph Dugan	John Carrell	
John Doyle	John A. Dutich	} Attrs. for Aug. Bousquet
Augustine Fagan	P. Bousquet	
John Dempsey	Jn. Keating	
Patrick Connell	Patrick Meally	
Joseph Strahan	Nicholas Esling	
	Jos. Donath	

Charles Mulvey
Hugh Cavanaugh
Cornelius Tiers
Wm. Myers

Lewis Ryan, Charles Johnson, James Eneu, Jeremiah Nicholas, Geraldus Stockdale, Thos. Maitland, Philip Smith, Michael Durney, Peter Scravendyke, John Maitland, Dennis McCreedy, James Brady, Dennis Crownen, John Saulnier, Timothy Cummin, James McCann, Dennis Brady atty. for P. K. Callan, John McDermont.

We may quote further, in this context, from Bishop Conwell's letter of July 4, 1822, to Monseigneur Plessis (cited previously on the tumult of the election day):

Fearing that Mr. Cummiskey had made application to your Lordship, to permit him to sell Bibles, which he had undertaken to get printed with notes, not only without my approbation or that of the Archbishop, but against our prohibition, I thought it proper to give you this notice, lest perhaps he might have imposed on you and the clergy by stating that this had been done by our consent. Soon after Easter, I judged it advisable to be absent for a while, until the sectarian rancour should subside among the people. I remained accordingly with Mr. Dubois at Emmittsburg, with Mr. Tessier at Baltimore, and with the Jesuits at Georgetown for six weeks, and I found that Mr. Cummiskey had been applying to all the clergy for subscriptions, and that he had consulted Mr. Tessier the Vicar General in Baltimore who advised him against publishing, the object of which can be nothing else but sordid lucre to make money. When I returned I called the clergy together and I debarred him from proceeding in it by a positive act, in their presence: stating that any person so offending by publishing the Holy Scriptures, with unauthorized notes, aut sine licentia Ordinarii, would, according to certain canons of the Council of Trent and Lateran incur an excommunication. If my suspicions are well founded, that is if he has applied to you, your Lordship will signify to him that such an edition will not be sold in Canada. The Arch-

bishop is not expected sooner than September. His Holiness has a severe attack in March last, but, thank God, he is now recovered. Cardinal Fontana died on the 19th of March. I am very anxious to know how your Lordship's health is and hope your ailing leg annoys you no longer. I intend to pay a visit to his Lordship Dr. Cheverus of Boston, and if I can I shall see your Lordship before I return. If you had any occasion to write to Dr. Cheverus, perhaps you would mention to him the circumstance relating to Mr. Cummiskey and the Bible, and my apprehensions, and pleased to do the same in your first correspondence with Montreal. Have the goodness to state our troubles to the Sacred Congregation when you have occasion to write to Rome, and that I have been to visit you at Quebec, and begging to be remembered in your mementos at the altar.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect and veneration, My Dear Lord, your Lordship's ever devoted servt.

† HENRY CONWELL Bp of Philadelphia.

Right Revd. Dr. Plessis.

My best respects and compliments to all the Clergy; God bless them and preserve the Holy Catholic Faith in Canada.

May I request that your Lordship will favour me with a few lines on receipt of this and accept my sincere thanks for your Lordship's kindness, which I shall never forget.

Le pauvre malheureux French a perdu tous ses biens en passant de New-York à St. Jean. Il m'a prié, l'année passée, d'écrire à Votre Grandeur en sa faveur: ce que je ne pourrais pas faire, mais je lui promis ne faire mention de son nom dans la première lettre à Kébec; il paraît qu'il avait des bonnes dispositions dans ce tems-là.*

To the Right Revd. Doctor Plessis,
Catholic Bishop of Quebec
in Lower Canada.

* The French paragraph runs: "Poor hapless French lost all his belongings on the way from New York to St. John's. He begged me, last year, to write to your Lordship in his favor: I could hardly do that, but I promised to mention his name in my letter to Quebec; it seems to me that he meant well enough at that season."

On Thursday, July 11th, at St. Augustine's, Bishop Conwell ordained to the priesthood James Smith and Michael De Burgo Egan, nephew of Bishop Egan, the predecessor of Bishop Conwell. (Diary of Mary Lloyd.)

Father Egan was the son of Thomas Egan, brother of the Bishop. He was born in Philadelphia, A. D. 1802. When seven years old, he was sent by the Bishop to Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg. Mother Seton spoke of him in 1818 as the "good little Michael." He became President of the College, and died at Marseilles, France, April 29, 1829. While in Rome he met Bishop Conwell, then in that city on affairs of his diocese. Father Egan wrote to Mother Rose, of the Sisters at Emmitsburg, on January 21, 1829: "The good Bishop of Philadelphia was rejoiced to see us. He talks of returning with us in the spring." Bishop Conwell was probably with him at his death. *Vide A. C. H. Researches*, 1890.

In October Bishop Conwell ordained Patrick Rafferty (hardly, as stated by *Hist. Records and Studies*, at *St. Mary's*.) Father Rafferty was sent as assistant to the Rev. C. Maguire at Pittsburg. Later he became pastor of St. Francis' Church, Philadelphia.

In August 1822, Hogan seems to have wearied of the contention, or perhaps a dispute in his own party led him to fear a defection among his supporters. Events, however, seem to show that matters were patched up on the schismatic side, since no understanding was effected with the bishop.

The appertaining correspondence is herewith adduced:

Sir,

I have taken the liberty of sending my boy to request you would have the kindness to call at my house, not thinking it possible I should find you alone in your office. If it be not requiring too much I shall thank you to call on me at half past three, I want to see you on business of some importance.

Respectfully Yours,

W. Hogan.

To John Keating, Esq. L. C.

(Endorsed in Keating's hand: "Rec'd Aug. 22d, 1822."
Original in A. C. H. S. Collection.)

KEATING to HOGAN :

Sir,

Having just heard from a person purporting to come from you that you were desirous of seeing me to-day I hasten to inform you that I shall be at my office at four o'clock this afternoon, or at any other hour you may appoint for our meeting.

I am Sir, Respectfully

Yr. Ob. Servt.

J. K. Jr.

No. 62 S. Sixth St. Aug. 22d 1822

Rev. Mr. Hogan.

An undated letter in Bishop Conwell's handwriting offers a mode of settlement which Hogan declined :

"Hearing that the Rev. Wm. Hogan is determined to quit the diocese of Philadelphia on condition of his being absolved from the excommunication inflicted on him, I shall consider his retirement a sufficient ground to authorize me in appointing some clergyman out of this diocese to absolve him under the express condition that he never hereafter shall return into this diocese under the pain of relapsing into the same censure whenever he return."

Hogan *dictated*, in turn, a "draught of letter proposed by him to be written to him by the Bishop:"

"Rev. Sir, I regret that the difference of opinion between me and you on some points of church discipline has obliged me to inflict on you the censures of the Church, but as by your leaving my diocese all cause of difference ceases, I do hereby absolve you from all or any censures you may have incurred and give you permission to go to any other diocese you please."

This the Bishop declined, and the next letter was draughted, apparently, by Mr. Keating: at least the copy extant is in his writing. The copy purports to come from Bishop Conwell to Hogan:

"Having been informed by the Rev. Wm. Hogan that he is determined to leave the Diocese of Philadelphia on my agreeing to absolve him from all ecclesiastical censures inflicted upon him by me, I shall consider his departure from said Diocese as a sufficient ground to warrant my doing so, and I do hereby authorize and desire the Rev. W. P. . . . on presentation of this document to him by the Rev. Wm. Hogan in the City of New York, to absolve him the said Wm. Hogan from all ecclesiastical censures which have been inflicted upon him by me with the express condition however that he shall never hereafter return to the said Diocese under pain of relapsing into the same censures if he should ever again appear in the same." (The cleric in question was Father Powers.)

These formalities had the same futile sequel as in case of Bishop England's overtures. Hogan probably found fresh support on the side of the Trustees, and he closed the proceedings in the subjoined letter to his attorney.

Monday morning, 8 o'clock.

Sir,

As my proposition for an amicable arrangement of the differences between your friends and me has been rejected, I beg leave to decline all further negotiations on the subject: upon reconsidering the nature of the propositions you have made I cannot reconcile it to my feelings as a clergyman and a gentleman to subject myself to the liability of any additional disrespect.

Respectfully Yours

WILLIAM HOGAN.

(Addressed:) John Keating, Esq.

(Endorsed:) Mr. Hogan, dated and received August 26th 1822.

Father Kenny's Diary thus chronicles the Bishop's movements in September of that year.

Sept. 15th, Sunday. Notified the People of Rt. Rev. Bishop Conwell's intention of administering confirmation in Wilmington Church in all October next. The Generous, the Liberal poor members of Wt. Chester six or seven in number, making the whole or 5 sixths, or 6 sevenths of the whole, began to calculate what would be their expenditures in going and taking their children to and from Wilmington, including Saturday and Monday laboring days lost. They concluded that it would be cheaper for them to subscribe to the amount of the Rt. Rev. Bishop's cost of stage hire from and to Phila. and that they would expect his Rt. Revnce. to confirm in Wt. Chester.

Sept. 19th. The Bishop arrived in the steamboat accompanied by Rev. Mr. McGuire from Quebec and Rev. Mr. Keenan.

20th Sunday (?). The Bishop, Rt. Rev. H. Conwell, administered confirmation to about 200. (Sunday 15th being correct for that year, 1822, there seems to be some confusion, whether in the original entry or in the transcript, if "20th Sunday" refers to September. It would apply to October, of course, although the context with "Sept. 19th" suggests no change of month; that is, provided the transcript from Father Kenny's Diary be in consecutive order.)

It was about this time that the Holy See took measures "to restrain the sacrilegious audacity of the priest Hogan," and also to provide support for Bishop Conwell. Here follows the Rev. Dr. Thomas C. Middleton's translation of the appertaining document:

Most Illustrious and Reverend Sir.

From former letters of this Sacred Congregation, I judge your Highness has learned of the steps taken by the Holy See

to restrain the sacrilegious audacity of the Priest Hogan and control for the future the arrogance of the trustees.

Now to the question of making provision for the proper support of your Highness.

As you will learn from the enclosed document His Holiness on request of the Sacred Congregation has conferred upon you *in commendam*, in lieu of Episcopal *mensa*, the Parish of St. Mary at Lancaster with all its rights and attachments. It will be your business however to collect the revenues of said parish, which at the same time you are to watch over carefully as becomes a zealous steward. Hoping that all matters will be arranged through the decrees of the Apostolic See and your prudence, I pray God to preserve your highness for a long time.

Yours as an affectionate Brother

CARDINAL CONSALVI.

To Rt. Rev. Henry Conwell Bishop of Philadelphia in the United States of America.

ROME, THE HOUSE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA, *September 7, 1822.*

The Latin Text is also herewith presented :

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine :

Ex superioribus Sacrae hujus Congregationis litteris, amplitudinem tuam jam cognovisse arbitror quae a sancta sede decreta sunt ad cohibendam sacrilegam presbyteri Hogan audaciam, rationesque adhibendas ad moderandum in posterum aedituorum arrogantiam. Nunc autem, ut congruae Amplitudinis Tuae Sustentationi aliquo modo consulatur, Sanctitas Sua, Sacra Congregatione rogante, Tibi loco mensae Episcopalis benigne contulit in commendam Parochiam Sanctae Mariae de *Lancaster* cum omnibus illius juribus et ad junctis quemadmodum ex inserto documento percipies. Tuum autem erit ejusdem Parochiae redditus vindicare et ad ejus curam bonis studiosoque vicarii ministerio solerter incumbere ac dum spero futurum, ut et latis Apostolicae Sedis Decretis, et pru-

dentia tua omnia rite componantur, Deum Optimum Maximum precor, ut Amplitudinem Tuam diutissime servet ac sospitet.

Amplitudinis Tuae uti Frater studiosissimus,
CARDINALIS CONSALVI.

R. P. D. Henrico Conwell,
Episcopo Philadelphiensi, in Foederatis Americae
Provinciis, Philadelphiae.

ROMAE EX AEDIBUS SACRAE CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE, DIE 7 *Septembris*, 1822.

On October 22, 1822, the Hoganites organized St. Mary's Beneficial Society to give relief to the sick or distressed. C. W. Bazeley was President; T. J. Desmond, Treasurer; and Archibald Randall, Secretary. On November 5, other officers were chosen: Rev. William Hogan, Chaplain: John Leamy and John Ashley, Vice-Presidents; John T. Sullivan, Treasurer; Drs. John Barnes and Nicholas J. Nancrede, Physicians; and John Doyle, Patrick Connell, Edward Kelly, Bernard Gallagher, Joseph Blame, Morgan Carr, John Keefe, and Joseph Harrison, Managers. All were of Hogan's faction. On January 6, 1824, the Rev. T. J. O'Meally, who had succeeded Hogan at St. Mary's and also in his antagonism to the Bishop, was chosen Chaplain; and Dr. Matthew Anderson succeeded Dr. Barnes. The Society disbanded on March 1, 1825.

On November 30, 1822, "The Catholic Herald and Weekly Register" was issued by E. F. Crozet. Particulars are lacking as to the career of this organ, and extant copies, if any, have eluded recovery. Father Finotti saw the first three numbers, and pronounced them "of a blasphemous tone in Catholic matters generally" (*Bibliographia*, p. 160).

The Bishop's party likewise cultivated journalism, and there appeared in February 1823 "The Catholic Advocate

and Irishman's Journal", whose aims are announced as follows:

"The object of the present paper, is to defend our ancient and holy religion from the pestiferous breath of heretical innovation; to cling to the same faith and the same hope in which our fathers lived and died, and not to be led astray by the wicked machinations of base and irreligious intruders. Here, we need not mention more explicitly to what party we belong: no, we shall ever support our bishop, our country and our faith. Our columns shall also contain every circumstance relevant to Ireland, the land of our birth, her distinguished and glorious patriots will appear again in the majesty of their greatness on these pages; nor shall we be unmindful of our fellow Catholic countries in Europe, whilst at the same time we shall give in ample detail the local occurrences of this our adopted country. The sermons of celebrated Catholic divines in this as well as other countries will be carefully recorded. Indeed, nothing will be omitted that can render the "Advocate" worthy the reading of all.

"*Terms.* The Catholic Advocate will be published every Saturday morning at \$3 per annum, payable quarterly in advance, on the receipt of the second number. The first number will be issued on the first Saturday of February inst.

"*Philad. Feb. 1823.*"

Further light on the situation appears from Bishop Conwell's letter to Archbishop Maréchal, endorsed *Inglesi and German Fund* (Baltimore Archives, case 15, Letter C), and dated October 16, 1822:

"Hogan has another priest from Limerick, around yesterday, about 25 years of age. I gave him a written

document prohibiting him from saying any Mass, or performing priestly duties in this Diocese under ipso facto excommunication. I have been in Canada; returned by Boston to New York with Bishop on way to Havre. Rome has given me Lancaster as a Mensal. I kept this secret so as not to alarm Mr. Holland who was endeavoring to obtain this trust. Now he is dead I have claimed the right; shall serve there and here occasionally."

CHAPTER XIII

1822

ROME CONDEMNS HOGAN. HE SUBMITS AND AGREES TO ACCEPT AN *Exeat*. CHANGES AGAIN AND REFUSES SUBMISSION. REMINISCENCES OF HOGAN AND HAROLD. "THE CATHOLIC BILL" BEFORE THE LEGISLATURE.

THE brief of Pope Pius VII, dated August 24, 1822, and forwarded to Archbishop Maréchal, who transmitted it to Bishop Conwell through Mr. John Carrell, takes a calm but yet austere view, as the case deserved, of the troubles in Philadelphia.

TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHERS, AMBROSE MARESCHAL, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, AND HIS SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS; TO OUR BELOVED CHILDREN, ADMINISTRATORS OF THE TEMPORALITIES OF CHURCHES, AND TO ALL THE FAITHFUL OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PIUS PP. VII.

Venerable brothers and beloved children, Grace and Apostolical benediction. It was not without great grief we understood, that the Church of Philadelphia has been for a long time so distracted by incessant discord and dissensions, that

schisms have arisen, perverse doctrines have been diffused, and that the affairs of the whole church itself are thrown into the greatest confusion. These disorders have originated principally from two causes, namely, from the senseless arrogance, and nefarious proceedings of the Priest William Hogan, and also, from an abuse of power in those who administer the temporal properties of the church. For it has reached our ears that this most abandoned Priest, Hogan, despising and subverting the laws of the church, has constituted himself judge of his own Prelate, that he has presumed to lacerate his reputation by many defamatory writings, to withdraw the faithful from their legitimate Pastor, to call a council of Bishops, for the purpose of deposing the said Prelate, daring, in his letters to that effect, like one possessed of superior power, to impart to them Apostolical benediction, and finally to intrude himself into the possession of the Cathedral Church, from which he has expelled the Bishop. Neither the complaints of the good, nor the withdrawing of his faculties nor the sentence of excommunication *justly denounced against him by his Bishop*, could deter him from pursuing the course he had commenced. On the contrary, regardless of all this, he does not blush to administer the sacraments, to perform all parochial functions, and daily to profane, by an impious and sacrilegious celebration, the most holy mysteries, rendering himself publicly guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. These are certainly execrable deeds. But what strikes, both us, and the universal church, not only with the greatest astonishment, but also with indignation, is doubtless, that this Priest, in so manifest a contempt of all law, could find many followers, supporters and defenders of his pride and contumacy, who, neglecting and despising the authority of the Bishop, would rather adhere to him, than to their lawful Pastor, from whom they have not hesitated to withdraw even the means necessary for the sustenance of life. This, indeed, is a most serious injury offered, not to the Bishop only, but to us also, and to this Apostolical See, and a sign of defection from the unity of the Catholic Church; because shamefully rejecting the Pastor given to them by the Holy See, they impiously

follow a wicked man, cut off from the communion of the church, without reflecting that not those only who do evil, are to be considered and treated as guilty, but those who give their consent to them, and who are not afraid, either by themselves or the agency of others, to procure their assistance, counsel, or protection. Are they ignorant that the Holy Ghost has placed the Bishops to rule the Church of God? Whence it follows that Bishops are the shepherds of the flock of Christ: and is it not sufficiently evident from their conduct in this cause, that it is not the flock which leads the shepherd, but the shepherd the flock? Are they ignorant that the order of the Hierarchy has been so established in the Church, that priests must be subject to Bishops and Bishops to the supreme Vicar of Christ; so that the *priest* is to be judged by the *Bishop*, not the *Bishop* by the *priest*; because otherwise, the government and discipline of the whole church would be totally overturned? Are they ignorant, that it belongs not to laymen to meddle with ecclesiastical judgments, which are reserved to the Bishops, and therefore, that in the case of the priest Hogan, they should not by any means have interfered, but only have submitted to their Bishop? Finally, are they ignorant, that all the acts he sacrilegiously and daringly performs, are entirely null and void? We hope these things being duly considered, with the assistance of Divine Grace, that those who have adhered to him through ignorance or error, and have been seduced by his artifices, will, the truth being now known, hasten to return to the right path, and diligently beware for the future of this impious man, lest, following him, they be made partakers of his crimes, and they escape not the just judgment of God.

There is another circumstance which affords continual cause of discord and discontent, not only in Philadelphia, but also in many other places of the United States of America: the immoderate and unlimited right, which trustees or administrators of the temporal properties of the churches assume, independently of the Bishops. Indeed unless this be circumscribed by certain regulations, it may prove an eternal source of abuse and dissensions. Trustees ought therefore to bear in mind,

that the properties that have been consecrated to divine worship for the support of the church and the maintenance of its ministers, fall under the power of the church, and since the Bishops, by divine appointment, preside over their respective churches, they can not, by any means, be excluded from the care, superintendence and disposal of these properties. Whence the holy council of Trent, Sess. 22, Cap. 9 de Ref., after having established, that the administrators for the building of every church, even of a Cathedral, and of all pious institutions, were bound every year to render to the ordinary an account of their administration; expressly ordered that although, according to the particular usages of some countries, the account of the administration was to be rendered to other persons, appointed for that purpose: nevertheless the Ordinary must be called in, together with them. If the trustees, in conformity with this decree, were to administer the temporalities of the church in union of heart and mind with the Bishop, everything would be performed peaceably and according to order.

But that trustees and laymen should arrogate to themselves the right, as it has sometimes happened in these countries, of establishing for Pastors, Priests destitute of legal faculties, and even not unfrequently bound by censures (as it appears was lately the case with regard to Hogan) and also of removing them at their pleasure, and of bestowing the revenues upon whom they please, is a practice new and unheard of in the church. And if these things have been performed in the manner in which it has been announced to us, how could so great a subversion of laws, not only ecclesiastical but divine also, be borne with? For in that case the church would be governed not by Bishops, but by laymen, the shepherd would be subject to his flock, and laymen would usurp the power which was given by Almighty God to Bishops. But those who are desirous of remaining in the bosom of their mother, the Holy Catholic Church, and of providing for their eternal salvation, are bound religiously to observe the laws of the Universal Church, and as the civil authorities must be obeyed in those things which are temporal, so also, in those which

are spiritual, must the faithful comply with the laws of the church, not confounding the spiritual with the temporal. In order then, to avoid the dissensions and disturbances which frequently arise from the unbounded power of trustees, we have provided, venerable brothers, that certain regulations and instructions concerning the choice and direction of trustees should be transmitted to you, to which, we are confident, the trustees will thoroughly conform themselves. If these be observed, all things we trust will be settled rightly, and peace and tranquillity will again flourish in these regions. To this end we first exhort in the Lord, and entreat the Pastors, whose solicitude is sufficiently known to us, that they employ their most diligent endeavours, to root out abuses and to establish ecclesiastical discipline, *being instant in season and out of season, by reproving, entreating, rebuking with all patience and doctrine.* We also admonish and exhort the trustees, and the rest of the faithful, through the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to behave towards the Pastors sent them by the Holy See, with that respect, honour, and obedience which belongs to them: to receive them as their fathers, and the directors of their souls; to lend a willing ear to their admonitions; to supply them with the subsidies necessary for their support; to harbour no other ministers of the sanctuary but those who have been approved by them; finally to embrace with pleasure and with readiness, whatever they may judge conducive to establish regular order and discipline, and to rest in peace, that there may be no schisms; *that all be of one mind, having the same charity, being of one accord, agreeing in sentiment. Let nothing be done through strife, nor by vain glory, but in humility let each esteem others better than themselves.* (Phil. ii, 2, 3). And since, under the protection of your prosperous and happy government, Catholics enjoy the free exercise of their holy religion, let your faith and piety shine before all, in such a manner that you may be an example for edification, not only to the faithful, but to those also who are *without*, faithfully serving God and your country. And as we trust you will, with the assistance of divine grace, diligently and willingly perform this, we most lovingly impart to you in the Lord our Apostolical Benediction.

Given at Rome, in the Church of St. Mary Major, on the 24th day of August, Year 1822 and of our Pontificate the 23d.

(Signed,)

PIUS P.P. VII.

On the day when this document was publicly read in all the Catholic churches of Philadelphia, Hogan announced his submission and applied for an *exeat*. Bishop Conwell wrote on the same day, December 10, 1822, to Archbishop Maréchal: "Hogan at first was unwilling to commit himself *in scriptis*; without that I would not give him any kind of an *exeat* or absolve him from censures. But he submitted this A. M. to the sentence and decision of His Holiness and engaged in writing to leave Philadelphia. In consequence I consented to absolve him from censures. I and the clergy may be in St. Mary's next Sunday without molestation or hindrance, in the mean time prudence requires to be cautious in publishing anything to irritate until Hogan retires and personal enmities subside. I cannot be too positive but there may be a trick or a ruse in this transaction. We must be guided by circumstances: let it be as it may. A meeting of the Bishops might be good and effective."

Bishop Conwell's mistrust of Hogan's word proved quite correct. When Father Harold called on Hogan the next day to deliver the *exeat*, he was out. Father Harold returned at 10:45 a. m., and stayed till noon, when Hogan came in. On hearing the terms of the *exeat*, he demanded also the original of the letter from Rome before his submission should be announced. Father Harold left him a copy, and the *Democratic Press* of that day signified a belief that peace was in prospect: but the morrow's *Aurora* predicted the contrary. Maybe the *Aurora* had got wind of some renewed opposition in the Hogan camp; at all events, Hogan wrote

on the same day (December 11) to Father Harold, saying that the rescript purporting to be from Rome "has not a single mark of authenticity." Why should he submit? To Father Harold's request for an explanation, Hogan answered to the effect that the alleged rescript showed that only one side of the controversy had been reported to Rome. (True, he had but recently contested its authenticity at all.) In fine, his conduct now shows mere temporizing, and a disposition to balk at all hazards. Peace was again remote, and the strife went on with added venom.

Another disgraceful scene is recorded to have occurred in St. Mary's Church on a subsequent Sunday of December, 1822 (presumably, the 17th), when Father Harold started to celebrate Mass in that sanctuary. Hogan likewise appeared, and attempted to preach, denying the genuineness of the Brief, and setting the Bishop at defiance. According to the reminiscences of Mr. Francis Harold Duffee, then an altar boy at St. Mary's, Father Harold asked: "Who is to preach to-day?" Mr. Sharp, the sexton, answered: "Hogan has just gone in." As soon as Father Harold perceived Hogan entering the pulpit, he addressed the altar boys: "Rise, boys, rise." As Hogan proceeded, Father Harold interrupted: "I command you in the name of the Bishop to leave that pulpit." Said Hogan, "I will not, Sir. I am preaching to my congregation." Father Harold repeated his prior bidding. Hogan again refused: "I shall not do so for you or the Bishop. This is my congregation, and I will recognize neither. I am preaching to my congregation and they will sustain me." Hereupon Father Harold pronounced an anathema against Hogan, and then said to the boys, "let us leave the altar."

Mr. Francis Harold Duffee, who gave these particulars

to Mr. Griffin, was a godson of Father Harold's, and a former broker at 310 Harmony Street, Philadelphia. He died on June 29, 1896, but not, it would appear, in the faith of his baptism. From his published reminiscences (A. C. H. S. *Researches*, April, 1891), we summarize the following description of Hogan and Father Harold:

"The Rev. Mr. Hogan was both personally and intellectually endowed with remarkable, handsome features, and an oratorical ability, winning and persuasive. He was a decided favorite, more particularly with the ladies and their children, to whom he made himself highly agreeable by his genial and social manners. He was a perfect gentleman in that respect. Frequently was he noticed, after the morning services, to mingle with the congregation, visiting their pews, and conversing with the ladies, and patting the children on the head with a fairly parental fondness. These traits made it very difficult to displace him from the affectionate regard of those whom he won by his amiable manners." His bodily presence was equally engaging. About five feet ten in stature, admirably proportioned; eyes of dark blue, complexion of alabaster flushed with rose; a profusion of very dark-brown hair in graceful setting about his radiant fine countenance: no wonder the least that *schismatic* ladies found him an irresistible magnet (plain Catholic dames never bother their heads on the score of a clerical Apollo). Even the "Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles Ely, a Presbyterian Minister at that period, frequently visited him and enjoyed his affable society." But it was especially the "women of his congregation who defended him to the last, and were not willing to relinquish one so endeared to them by pure and hallowed associations in their worldly trials."

Mr. Duffee relates of Hogan's later career, that he left the priesthood and went to Charleston, South Caro-

lina, where he read and practiced law. "He then married a Southern lady, of whom it is said that she was beautiful, accomplished and wealthy. In one of his visits to this city I met him, after years had rolled by, but he was changed almost beyond recognition; a mere wreck of his former self. He soon afterwards died, I think in Massachusetts, both poor and miserable, and no doubt filled with the deepest remorse of conscience, after leaving the bosom of the Holy Roman Catholic Church." (Mr. Griffin's data suggest no such "remorse" on the side of Mr. Duffee's own lapse "from the faith of his boyhood.")

Father Harold appears to have been also a commanding figure in his day. "As a scholar, theologian and orator he had scarcely his equal. Whenever he delivered a discourse at St. Mary's Church it was the occasion of the assemblage of a numerous and highly intellectual audience, deeply impressed with his oratorical power and scholarly attainments. I have frequently noted the presence of some of our most distinguished lawyers, who were eager to hear his admirable and learned sermons. Horace Binney, John Sergeant, Joseph R. Ingersoll, Charles Chauncery and others, prominent members of the bar, attended whenever Mr. Harold delivered one of his eloquent sermons. . . . Educated for the priesthood in one of the most celebrated colleges of Dublin, Ireland, he was graduated from that institution with all the honors that learning could impart. He visited Spain and remained in that country for some length of time. Being a classical scholar, with also a thorough knowledge of the modern languages, he was fully prepared both to teach and preach in any European capital. My early recollections find him located here in our city, alternately officiating at St. Joseph's and St. Mary's. His residence was in Willing's Alley, at the domicile of

St. Joseph's Church, which even to-day still continues to be the abode of many of the Jesuit Fathers." Father Harold appears to have died, at a good old age, in Dublin, "universally respected as well as regretted."

Meanwhile, the movement in behalf of amending St. Mary's charter was not abandoned. The Trustees and their supporters wanted only laics on the board, who should be freeholders and citizens, and the election should be fixed for the first Monday in January. But the Supreme Court having decided that no such amendment could be introduced save by legislative authority, the State Legislature was accordingly petitioned towards the close of 1822. The appertaining memorial proposed the following clauses:

1. Lay trustees to be the holders of a pew or half of a pew, and citizens of the United States.
2. Time of election to be the first Monday of July. Judges of election to be appointed by the trustees, and sworn to do their duty with impartiality and fairness. No pew to have more than two votes. Females to vote by proxy.
3. Board to fill vacancies.
4. Treasurer to give security.
5. Board to select pastors from regularly ordained priests.

This memorial was endorsed by the Trustees on December 22 (see *Minutes*) and sent to Harrisburg. There were 579 signers, as against the 497 votes officially counted for Hogan after the spring election. But possibly some of those who now signed, simply took this course by way of practical expedient to end the dispute. The so-called "Catholic Bill" came up for consideration by the Legislature in March, 1823.

Bishop England's *Catholic Miscellany*, December 18, 1822, reviews the situation in sombre tones:

"There is not on the continent of America a body of persons professing Christianity who are more palpably, and we fear, more inexorably opposed to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church than the congregation of that once Catholic Church."

CHAPTER XIV

HOGAN'S PUBLIC DEFENSE OF HIS CASE. OPINION OF THE FENWICKS. HOGAN ACCUSED OF A CRIME. PREPOSTEROUS COUNTER CHARGE AGAINST BISHOP CONWELL. HOGAN ACQUITTED, AND THE BISHOP'S ACCUSER CONVICTED OF PERJURY.

Were it profitable to linger over a specimen of elaborated sophistry, Hogan's attempted vindication of himself in the newspaper *aurora*, under date of January 3, 1823, should be quoted here in full; but his entire argument has been so vitiated by the whole history of Catholic discipline, that we may fairly omit his rhetorical "trimmings", and review simply his main article of contention. First, he quibbles extensively over the form of exeat which he demanded, and the actual form tendered through Father Harold. Hogan professes to have asked for "such an exeat as is usually given to a priest who goes from one diocese to another: the form is prescribed in the Roman ritual." As much as to imply that he will leave town clear of damaging taint, but not under shadow of preëxistent censure. He charges Father Harold with duplicity in pretending to read the desired form of exeat, but then producing a different form altogether. Again, Hogan would repudiate the validity of any censures from Bishop Conwell, whom he, Hogan, asserts to be himself "under the censure of *major excommunication*, incurred by a wilful

violation of the laws and ordinances of our church; and further, that all his acts as a Roman Catholic Bishop, are illegal and sacrilegious. This I have proved from the councils and canons of our church: my proofs are before the public I have required an exeat, not for the purpose, but because no bishop can receive me into his diocese without one."

After thus *nullifying* Bishop Conwell's *episcopal* Orders, Hogan takes a right lofty stand on the *absolute* integrity of his own priestly powers. "Mr. Harold tells us, that the pastors of Saint Mary's can be designated by him only from whom they derive their pastoral powers. The reverend gentlemen is rather obscure on this subject. What does he understand by pastoral powers? I suppose at all events they include the power of consecrating the Holy Eucharist, of loosing and binding, of teaching all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and (of the) Holy Ghost! (Not even the baptismal formula is accurately cited in *Aurora*; but if he be so lax in the very rudiments of Holy Orders, how did Hogan take himself seriously, or expect sober people to take him seriously, in their wider bearings?) "And let me ask the reverend theologian, whether a priest receives these powers by virtue of his ordination, or whether they are of human invention, to be given and withdrawn at the discretion of a Bishop?. . . . Priests who receive *vi ordinis* divine and supernatural rights cannot be deprived of them by any Bishop or Bishops, who are appointed only to rule the church, and to be considered as the spiritual guardians and protectors of priests." (An obvious confusion between the validity of Orders and indiscriminate exercise therefore.)

Lastly, basing his tenure on civil rights, as from the lay trustees of St. Mary's, Hogan assails the *Pope's* right of interfering with the civil jurisdiction; and he adduces

France, "our sister country, South America, now bursting the fetters of tyranny, and proudly trampling on the diadems of monarchies, intrigue and monkish depravity"; nay further, Catholic Ireland, as well, for portentous examples of what America the *free* must needs avoid by total exclusion of the spiritual authority from the temporal economy. In the case of Ireland he contends that all her miseries are due "to the reciprocal intrigue and corruption of her clergy, Protestant and Roman Catholic." However, he was now brought to bay so far as his ecclesiastical status was concerned; and he would gain the popular sympathies by hoisting the American Spread Eagle.

Pending the debate in the Legislature over the "Catholic Bill", Archbishop Maréchal endorsed "Nothing important", on a letter from Bishop Conwell, dated January 23, 1823, and mentioning that Hogan was in Harrisburg "about this business of amending the charter, and had taken vestments to say Mass"; that Harold also was there, the Legislature being in session.

Bishop Fenwick, who was consecrated on January 23, 1823, favored the appointment of suffragans by way of preventing future troubles of the sort now rife in Philadelphia. (Catholic Encyclopedia dates Bishop Edward Fenwick's consecration, January 13, 1822.)

"Would it not be a measure of prudence, and conducive to the benefit of the church or the preservation of religion, to appoint a coadjutor to every Bishop in America on account of the extensive dioceses and the impracticability of a Bishop's visiting his whole flock? It is probable, had there been a Coadjutor in Philadelphia, the schism which has so distracted and scandalized that diocese as well as the Church of America, would not have existed; as to means of subsistence, *Deus providebit*. As the erection of Bishoprics in the United

States is quite independent and has nothing to apprehend from the political intrigues of government, the Bishops have nothing to expect for their support; but the republican spirit which prevails, gives room to fear an intrusion of Calvinistical independence in the American dioceses and congregations which may involve these in schisms like that which ruins the church in Philadelphia."

Hear we also the voice of the Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, a brother of the foregoing Bishop of Cincinnati, and then President of Georgetown College (subsequently Bishop of Boston), who thus writes to his brother George, scholastic at the Gesu in Rome, under date of January 14, 1823:

"I have seen too much to be a Bishop, especially to desire to be a Bishop in America, where only trouble is got by it, where the office is every day more and more vilified, and where if the same progress continue which I have seen made, before many years it will turn out that he who names a Bishop, names in the same breath a Martyr. Mr. Hogan, the excommunicated priest at Philadelphia, notwithstanding in the publication of the ratification of his condemnation brought by the Archbishop from the Holy See, still continues in possession of St. Mary's, and bids defiance to every authority. The Bishop of Philadelphia still continues to officiate at our little chapel of St. Joseph's and I think is likely to end his days there; for he is not one who appears calculated to remedy the disaffection of the refractory Catholics of his Diocese. He has already seen much but I am persuaded he will yet see a great deal more."

The events of this year in the conflict, all too bitterly reflect the rancor of both parties. The scandals of 1823 still shamed the past on some sides, at least; and notably so as regards charges of gross immorality, in both camps. Hogan, as we learned in a former chapter, had been ac-

quitted of alleged assault on Mary Connell; but now he was again accused in a like direction: this time: of illicit relations with one Mary Barry, aged sixteen. His trial began on August 28 and lasted a week, when he was pronounced "not guilty." Tradition, forsooth, will still have it that Hogan was the father of a male child (so respectable a citizen as the late John A. McAllister told Mr. Griffin, in 1885, that this reputed son of William Hogan became an inmate of the house of Refuge.) Let the jury's verdict stand on its own lawful merit; and it is also fair to consider that a man of Hogan's handsome presence and undisguised fondness for womankind, would be a peculiar target for slanderous tattle on the part of his enemies, even though he were guiltless of actual immorality of the sort in question. Not such excuse can be urged of the incredible slander thrust upon ageing Bishop Conwell by way of retaliation for the more natural blots on Hogan's name. Amid all his errors of pride and uncompromising severity, would any thus view it, Bishop Conwell's character totally forbids the imputation of unchastity; his maligners themselves must know the folly, not to say sacrilege, of seeking to ruin him by that manner of revenge. And yet he was formally accused, before Squire Palmer, on March 4, 1823 (another datum gives it February 8, 1823), of "bastardy"; his accuser, Catherine Mavis, being an inmate of the Poor House then standing in Spruce Street block below Tenth and Eleventh, south side. When the Bishop's attorneys, Kittera and Keating, followed up the suit, they found it a case of manifest prevarication, and the woman herself absconded before the final hearing. A reward of fifty dollars effected her capture, and the proceedings culminated in her conviction for perjury. Owing to her lack of "education and religious instruction," the Court forbore to impose the full sentence of seven years, but re-

duced the term to three years. This consequence was reached in October, 1823, showing ample time for the complete overhauling and weighing of evidence for and against her guilt. In the course of her confession, she threw the blame for her falsely accusing the Bishop, on Hogan and Bazeley. Suffice it that the Bishop was honorably cleared from a dishonorable charge, whoever moved it. *Requiescat in pace.*

It is a welcome diversion to pass to another topic. For, about this time, Bishop Conwell acquired legal title to a tract of land in Westmoreland County, though the site is now in Indiana County, for Church purposes. On August 9, 1806, Joseph Cauffman conveyed to Mark Willcox and the Rev. Matthew Carr, O. S. A., a tract of land on the South Branch of Yellow Creek, adjoining the land of Anthony Groves in the same County, for a house of religious worship and for the burial ground of Roman Catholics in the surrounding township; provided that the clergyman in charge were of the Order of St. Francis, and approved by the Bishop of the Diocese. On September 5, 1810, Father Carr and Mr. Willcox conveyed this land to Bishop Egan. He dying intestate, July 22, 1814, the land descended to his brother Thomas, who also died intestate; whereupon the possession devolved on the Rev. Michael de Burgo Egan, subsequently President of Mount St. Mary's College. Father Egan then Conveyed the tract to Bishop Conwell on August 25, 1823; although the deed was not recorded until May 12, 1836. (It is now with A. C. H. S.)

We may close this brief chapter with the following laconic message from Bishop Conwell to Archbishop Maréchal, March 19, 1823:

. . . . New trial lately, and enemies frustrated. Miserable woman suborned to bring our name into question; was detected as guilty of perjury and has abscon-

ded. Reward for her apprehension; taken and in prison. Church gained an accession of popular prejudice, which stood against her by reason of conspiracy to destroy character of priesthood. Jacobins defeated in Legislature. This serviceable in suit against the Trustees for mismanagement. Rev. Walsh of Richmond came yesterday; going to Ireland: climate not agreeable. Services would be useful here for the few weeks; a disagreement between Harold and Cumiskey. Hurley nervous attack. Wants to hear from Archbishop that Walsh is under no censures and came away with approbation. Resolutions of the Catholic laity of Baltimore do them infinite honor. Our case not so bad as formerly; may turn out the most propitious occurrence ever happened towards propagating the Catholic religion, inasmuch as Trustees, (and people have wrong conception of authority vested in Trustees,) confounded temporal with spiritual, which led them astray. This, with the chicanery of lawyers, made an interminable field for despicable sophistry, which is coming gradually to a conclusion in our favour. Time enough to disclose Pope's Regulations for the management of Church's concerns, when our pending causes shall be determined and brought to a successful issue."

BAPTISMAL RECORDS OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH,
LANCASTER, 1801-1804

- A. D. 1801, born on the 10th day of January and baptized on the 18th, Catherine, lawful daughter of Joseph and Barbara Trautman. Sponsors were Anthony and Maria Hook.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 18th day of February and baptized on the 5th day of April, Esther, lawful daughter of Peter and Anna Stockleger. Sponsors were Philip and Magdalena Stocksleger.
- A. D. 1799, born on the 25th day of December and baptized on the 5th day of April, Catherine, lawful daughter of ——— Kirchman. Godmother was ——— Kirchman.
- A. D. 1801, born on the — day ——— and baptized on the 6th day of April, Maria, lawful daughter of John and Catherine M'Groarty. Godmother was ——— Boyle. Corrected by I. W. Beschler. (Note in a different hand.)
- A. D. 1801, born on the 16th day of April and baptized on the 19th of the same, George, lawful son of Anthony and Christina Ginter. Sponsors were James Carolus and Maria Ziegler.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 31st day of March and baptized on the 14th day of April, James, lawful son of Michael and Frances Gallegher. Sponsors were Andrew M'Gachan and Catherine M'Gaughey.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 7th day of December and baptized on the 14th day of April, Henrietta, lawful daughter of Patrick and Anna M'Guigen. Sponsors were Matthew Theston (?) and Rebecca Algae. (Algayer?)
- A. D. 1799, born on the 15th day of January and baptized on the 14th day of April, Daniel, ——— son of Elizabeth Hurd. Sponsors were Andrew N'Guigen and Anna Larton (?).
- A. D. 1801, born on the 22d day of January and baptized on the 27th day of April, Andrew, lawful son of Edward and Margaret M'Enley. Godfather was William M'Larren.
- A. D. 1800, born on the — day and baptized on the 30th day of April, a lawful child of ———. Sponsor was James Lafferty.
- A. D. 1801, born on the — and baptized on the ———, Anthony, lawful son of Nicholas and ——— Stormbach. Godmother was ——— Stormbach.
- A. D. 1800, born on the 1st day of July and baptized on the 17th day of May, John, lawful son of Henry and Maria Woods. (Sponsors) William Graham and Catherine M'David.

- A. D. 1800, born on the 17th day of February and baptized on the 17th day of May, Joanna, lawful daughter of Patrick and Sarah M'Gofe (?). Godfather was Andrew M'Logran.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 6th day of May and baptized on the 13th day of the same, Anna, lawful daughter of Barnaby and Joanna M'Lasky. Sponsors were Patrick M'Lasky and Salina (?) (Helena?) M'Fadin.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 5th day of May and baptized on the 13th day of the same, Catherine, lawful daughter of Patrick and Martha Green. Sponsors were James and Isabella M'Gleade.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 31st day of May and baptized on the 24th day of May (an obvious error, as the entry stands), Luke, lawful son of Luke and Mary Flin. Sponsors were John and Mary M'Laughlin.
- A. D. 1801, born on the 11th day of February and baptized on the 24th day of May, William, lawful son of ——— and ——— Hamilton. Sponsors were Dennis M'Fadin and his wife.

(Baptisms by Missionary Priest Fitzsimons:)

- A. D. 1804, April 1: baptized Peter, son of Hugh Mulligan and Mary Dugan. Sponsors, John Lafferty and Mary Stuart.
- April 2: Eugene, lawful son of Eugene Gorman and Ann McDonnell. Sponsors, William Wallace and Mary Grose (?).
- April 5: baptized Margaret, ——— daughter of Dennis McLosky and Ann McLosky, born 11 months past in Lancaster. Sole sponsor was a negro woman by the name of Mary Brown. I took no fee.
- April 5: Jeannette, lawful daughter of James Rogers and Jeannette Reed. Sponsors, Henry Gillin and Bridget Magrorty.
- April 6: baptized Susan, daughter of Richard Dives (?) and Susan Sweeney. Sponsor, Unity McVeigh.
- April 6: baptized Edward, son of Francis Reed and ———. Sponsors, James Gibbons, Edward Barns. Catherine Burns and Mary Hilcher. Fitzsimons, Missionary.

(The foregoing entry is badly scratched, as though partly erased but again restored in part.)

April 11: baptized at Lancaster, Juliana, 12 days old, lawful daughter of George Lechler and Maria Shife. Sponsors, John Morse (?) and Sara Lambart, who were united in matrimony on the 3d of April by a Protestant minister of this town, but wish to return to the one fold. But, as I have heard, they do not mean to come back. They have not come. To-day, May 6.

April 16: I baptized two ——— daughters, Agnes and Elizabeth, 6 weeks old, belonging to a certain Irishman by the name of Constantine Cunningham and to Catherin Bryson, still single.

Fitzsimons, Missionary.

A. D. 1804.

In the month of May: 1, I baptized none.

2, — — — 0

3, — — — 0.

4, — — — 0 (Such blanks continue to

24th).

24: baptized, in Conestoga township, Eleanor, lawful daughter of Alexander McMullen and Maggie Kelly. Sponsors, Hugh O'Donnell and Ann Magennis.

Franc. Fitzsimmons, Missionary.

(He seems to sign indifferently Fitzsimons and Fitzsimmons.)

June 3: baptized John, lawful son of John Conrad, Protestant, and Hanna Remy, Catholic. Sponsors, Peter Remy and Catherine Remy. Fitzsimons, Missionary.

June 5: baptized Elizabeth, lawful daughter of Peter Frey, Protestant, and Elizabeth Abercorn. Sponsor, Mary Ann Welton.

Fitzsimmons, Missionary.

(After some burial entries:)

Book of Baptisms Marriages & Funerals, Roman Catholic Pastoral Church at Lancaster for A. D. 1804. Month of January, 22d day. (Signature:) Maria O'Conner.

Catherine Trautman the daughter of Joseph Trautman 1 old died the 12 March. (This rather indefinite memorandum occurs thus in English.)

January 1804.

In Lancaster, 29 January, baptized Robert, believed to be the lawful son of Francis Loughran, who does not cohabit with his wife, and of Bridget Duff. Sponsors, Samuel Lafferty and Maria Nugent.

Fitzsimmons.

February 7: baptized James, lawful son of James Loughran and Maria Stammers. Sponsors, Philip Stocksleger and Magdalena Baum, *alias* Stocksleger.

The same entry occurs in slightly modified form on the reverse of the same page: (7th: baptized James, lawful son of James Lochran and Maria Stumers. Sponsors, Philip Stocksleger and Magdalena Baum.)

February 10, 28 miles from Lancaster, in the County, baptized John, lawful son of Charles O'Donnell and Bridget Sweeny. Sponsors, William Mumachan and Maria Sweny.

Fitzsimmons.

February 24, 1804. In the Lancaster Infirmary I preached to the sick and baptized two infants, Elizabeth, daughter (I did not think to inquire, whether lawful or not) of Patrick M'Closky and Mary Galway. Sponsors, Hugh McGran and Sara Johnston. They gave nothing.

24: in the Infirmary I baptized George, son of George Preston and Maria Wagner. Sponsors, John Paris and Rose Logan. I took no fee.

24: Six miles from Lancaster, in *Menor Township*, I baptized Anna Maria, lawful daughter of John Winter and Anna Maria Obrey. Sponsor, Anna Maria Welton.

Fitzsimmons.

Mount Hope, 24 February: baptized John, lawful son of Hugh Maginly and Mary McPhadin. Sponsors, Patrick O'Friel and Mary O'Friel. I accepted a dollar.

Fitzsimmons.

March 23, Lancaster: baptized George Frederick, lawful son of John Sheaf and Elizabeth Dash. Sponsor, Catherine Deash. He died on the following day at 6 a. m. and was buried in our cemetery without the prayers of the church.

March 31: baptized Peter, lawful son of Nielly McConorry and Ann Maginnis. Sponsors, William Fahan and Mary Daly, *alias* Maglochlin.

March 31: baptized Mary, lawful daughter of Henry Coyle and Bridget Magrorty. Sponsors, Pat. Dogherty, Ketty Magrorty.

Fitzsimmons, Missionary.

February 28, in Irishtown, near Cornwall Furnace: baptized three infants, *Eugene*, illegitimate son, and adulterate, as they live in actual adultery, of Charles Gallagher and Catherine Maginley. Sponsors, Roger McHugh and Ann McHugh. *Bridget*, lawful daughter of James Boyle and Bridget Connors. Sponsors, Hugh McHugh and Mary McHugh. *George*, lawful son of John Kelly and Mary, a Calvinist. Sponsor, Maria Maxe (?).

February 29, in Lancaster, baptized Rosanna, lawful daughter of James Reddy and Margaret Sadler. Sponsors, Bernard O'Donnell and Jeannette Hook. I accepted a Dollar.

Fitzsimmons, Missionary.

(Memorandum in English:) 9th February, 1834.

McKenna brought me a little mare, from Parks, 6 miles distant, to feed her till April. No payment. I paid one night stabling for her.

Names of those Deceased at the same place and buried with Christian and Catholic Rite, and in blessed ground of the Cemetery, from A. D. 1789.

A. D. 1789, George Huver, father of four sons.

Maria, daughter of Cornelius and Nellie Hardkin.

A. D. 1794, June 21, I buried two (of the male sex) whose names I do not know. Scarcely any one was present, nor was burial requested; so they were buried in the priest's absence.

A. D. 1794, August 25, is buried ——— Hiltenberger, mason (?) of this church.

Deceased.

Anna Maria Fisher, born 1717 and died August 27, 1794, fortified with the sacraments.

On the 24th of October 1794 was buried in the cemetery of this parish Barbara, two years of age, daughter of Henry Norbec and Catherine Norbec. Janin, priest.

1795, February 1, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel the body of John, son of Francis Bie and Yefur Bie his wife; age, 15 days.

By me Mongrand, priest.

1795, February 2, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel Peter, son of Francis Bie and Yefur Bie his wife; age, fifteen days.

By me Mongrand, priest.

1795, March 12, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel the body of Joanna Maurice, aged fifty years and fortified with the sacraments.

Mongrand, priest.

(Witnesses:)

Edward Cook

Hugh McGrann.

1795, April 20, was buried the body of Catherine Lekler, wife of Henry Lekler, aged forty-six years. She received all the sacraments of the Church. Mongrand, priest.

1795, June 25, was buried the body of Anna, daughter of Simeon jken (Egan?) and of Anna iken (Egan?), consorts. She was three years old. C. Mongrand, priest.

1795, August 10, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel the body of Elizabeth Walther, aged about thirty-eight years. She received all the sacraments of the Church.

Mongrand, priest.

September 10, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel the body of Rosina, aged five months, daughter of Daniel Maykiou (McHugh?) and Elizabeth Makiou (McHugh?), consorts, by me, Mongrand, priest.

September 15, was buried in the cemetery of this chapel the body of Edward Suenni (Sweeney?), aged twenty-four years, fortified with the sacraments of the Church.

Mongrand.

Terence Mongrand James M'Glade.

December 10, was buried the body of Catherine Maguire, aged thirty-two years, wife of Patrick Maguire, fortified with the sacraments of penance and extreme unction.

Louis Barth, parish priest.

Patt M'Guire Mark (X) of Philip Raley (Reilly?).

A. D. 1796, January 20, deceased, Mary, daughter of Martha White, and was buried on the 21st in the cemetery of this church; age, ten months. Louis Barth, parish priest.

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- A. D. 1796, January 15, departed Elizabeth, aged 6 years, daughter of Michael and Christina Huber. She was interred on the 17th.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, March 19, deceased, George Renner, aged 25 years, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction. He was interred on the 21st. Witnesses were Michael Berger and Michael Hooch, who have subscribed along with me.

Michael Berger

Mich Huk (so nearly as the scrawled form seems to read.

Louis Barth, parish priest.

- A. D. 1796, May 26, departed John, infant of six days, lawful son of Philip and Barbara Antony, sojourning in this parish, and was buried in the cemetery on the following day by me.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, June 11, died James Grayer in the 86th year of his age, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, June 18, departed Elizabeth, in the ninth year of her age, lawful daughter of Henry and Maria Kreuter. She was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, July 29, departed Joseph, infant of seven months, lawful son of Michael and Christina Huber. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, August 1, died William Connor in the — year of his age, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction. He was buried on the following day in the cemetery by me,

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, August 8, departed Maria, infant of eighteen months, lawful daughter of Andrew and Magdalena Hope. She was buried on the 9th in the cemetery.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, August 23, departed John, infant of twelve weeks, lawful son of James and Elizabeth Weber, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, September 8, departed Mary Eleanor, infant of two months, lawful daughter of Edward and Cressentia M'Bride, and was buried on the ninth day of the same month in this cemetery.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1796, September 12, died Elizabeth Bukley, widow of ——— deceased, having been duly fortified with the sacraments of penance,

Eucharist, und extreme unction. She was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, January 17, died Mary, infant of three weeks, lawful daughter of James and Catherine Murray. On the following day she was buried in the cemetery of this church.

L. Barth.

- A. D. 1797, March 3, died Patrick Boyle, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, August —, died Sarah, infant of nine months, lawful daughter of Isaac and Elizabeth O'Donald; buried on the following day in the cemetery.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, August 29, died Anthony, infant of seven days, lawful son of Anthony and Christina Guintier. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, September 12, died Catherine, infant of eleven months, lawful daughter of George and Elizabeth Stormbach. On the following day she was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, September 19, died Michael Grub in the thirtieth year of his age, being from Kilnarney in the County of Tipperary in Ireland; duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, September 20, died John, infant of one year, lawful son of Leonard and Magdalena Kraus. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1797, December 22, died Maria, infant of about three years, lawful daughter of John and Catharine Kirchman, and was buried in the cemetery of this church, on the 24th.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, January 2, died George, infant of about one year, lawful son of John and Catharine Kirchman, and was buried on the 3d, in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, January 4, died suddenly Michael Hook and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1798, January 19, died Nicholas, infant of eleven months, lawful son of Balthazar and Eva Marthins. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, January 4, departed Anna Maria, infant of two years, lawful daughter of Nicholas and Eva Stormbach, and was buried on the 7th in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, January 10, departed Elizabeth, infant of five months, lawful daughter of Nicholas and Eva Stormbach, and was buried on the 14th, in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1798, April —, died John, infant of one year, lawful son of Patrick and Sara Raden. On the following day he was buried in the cemetery of this church.

L. Debarth.

- A. D. 1798, — day of June, died Margaret Grayer, widow, in the — year of her age, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction. She was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Debarth.

- A. D. 1798, —, died Joseph Gaddy, from Italy, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Debarth.

- A. D. 1798, August —, died a household servant at the house of (?) merchant of Philadelphia, and was buried on the same day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1798, — died John Lynch, fortified with the sacrament of extreme unction, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1798, October 15, died in the prison at Lancaster, John Algise, born at Libourne near Bordeaux, France, duly fortified with the Holy Sacraments, and on the following day he was buried by me the undersigned priest at Lancaster, in the cemetery of the church. (Some half a dozen words remain scrawled out of sufferable recognition.)

Louis De Barth,

parish priest at Lancaster.

- A. D. 1798, — died a lawful son. (Blank spaces left for names.)

- A. D. 1798, October 29, died John, infant of four months, lawful son of James and Joanna Green, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1798, November 1, died John, lawful son of Luke and Mary Flin; buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Debarth.

- A. D. 1798, November 12, died Roger O'Donald, in the sixty-second year of his age, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction, and was buried on the 14th, in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1799, February 3, died Anna Maria Hook, widow of the late Michael Hook, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction, and was buried in the cemetery of this church on the day following.

Louis Barth.

- A. D. 1799, February 12, died Cressentia M'Donald, wife of Barnaby M'Donald, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

Louis Debarth.

- A. D. 1799, March 10, died Eleanor, infant of about four months, lawful daughter of Patrick and Martha Green, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

L. B.

- A. D. 1799, April 1, died ——— Mertz, wife of George Mertz, duly fortified with the sacraments of the church, and on the following day she was buried in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, May 7, died Caspar Stocksleger, lawful son of Philip and Magdalena Stocksleger, duly fortified with the sacraments of penance, Eucharist and extreme unction, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, May 9, died Michael, infant of nine months, lawful son of Michael and Christina Huber, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, ———, died (M'Laughlin is written above the blank half line), duly fortified with the sacraments of the church, and she was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, ———, died M'Bride, duly fortified with the sacraments of the church, and he was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, October 17, died Daniel, infant of four years and 9 months, lawful son of Henry and the late Catherine Lechler, and was buried on the following day in the cemetery of this church.

- A. D. 1799, October 17, died ———, lawful daughter of the late (parents' names left blank), and wife of Daniel Daugherty, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1799, December —, died ——— Mayer, fortified with all the sacraments of the church, and he was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1799, December —, died lawful infant son of Barnaby and Sarah O'Neal, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1800, January 11, died Helen Shier, widow of Nicholas Shier, duly fortified with all the sacraments of the church, and was buried on the 13th in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1800, January 12, died (at M'Kean's? *M'Kean* is written above

the line, and a similar entry starts on a subsequent page: A. D. 1800, January 12, at M'Kean's, died ——), and was buried on the fourteenth day in this cemetery.

- A. D. 1800, January 27, died Christina Gerhart, widow, fortified with the sacraments of Holy Church, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.
- A. D. 1800, January 29, died ——, infant of six weeks, lawful child of Joseph and Barbara Trautman, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.
- A. D. 1800, April —, died Joseph Huver, fortified with the sacraments of the Church, and was buried on the following day in this cemetery.
- (After the baptismal record, already given, of Missionary Priest Fitzsimons:)

1804. Months of January and February.

Died at Mount Garnet (so the word appears in plain script, though the ink is but faint), 27 miles from Lancaster, in the house of Mr. Patrick Garvey, Michael Murry, 29 years old, fortified with all the needful sacraments of the Church, and was buried on the 22d day of February at Elizabethtown.

In Columbia, suddenly, without sacraments, N. Hany. Buried in unblest ground and without the prayers of the Church, near Columbia, February 28.

In Lancaster, died and was buried in the cemetery of the Catholic Church an infant of 11 days, baptized. Date of March 15. Another infant, belonging to William O'Keefe; age, two years. March 14.

March 20: died suddenly and without sacraments, Mr. Michael Conroy (?) Buried on March 21 in the Catholic cemetery.

(Here occurs an unfinished entry, noted above, and misplaced from 1800: A. D. 1800, January 12, at M'Kean's, died ——.)

May 1804: died on the 22d, Henry Miller, 60 years of age, and was buried in the cemetery of the Roman Catholic Church of Lancaster, having been fortified with the sacraments of the Church; namely, penance, extreme unction and Viaticum. Thus I witness, Francis Fitzsimons, Apostolic Missionary.

(Passing memorandum: Michael Conroy, 2 dollars. A canceled line has it: Michael Conroy, 2 Dollars for Masses for dead.)

MARRIAGE RECORDS.

(The order of years is observed in this translation; in the manuscript records the entries occur somewhat at haphazard.)

- A. D. 1787, April 7: United in matrimony, John Feary (?) and Hetti Daggothee (Hettie Dougherty?) before witnesses John O'Neal and Michael Fry.

April 8: United in matrimony, Anthony Shammo and Elizabeth Obold before witnesses Joseph Bedee (?) and Philip Smith.

April 9: United in matrimony, John Smith and Maria Josepha Seibold before witnesses Gebhard Seibel and Joseph Walther.

List of those married with the assistance and benediction of John Charles Helbron, as parish priest and qualified witness.

A. D. 1789, February 24: John Wheat and Magdalena Gunter.

April 18: Louis Walter, 21 years, and Eva Löchler, 18; witnesses present, Lawrence Gunter and Catherine and Regina Cross.

June 3: John Triskell and Maria Oekin, in the presence of John Lück, Alexander Oekin and Maria Luck.

October 5: Lawrence Gunter, 23 years, and Magdalena Meyer, 17 years. Present as witnesses, John Gross and John Wheat.

LIST OF MARRIAGES.

Matrimonially united with the assistance and benediction of William Elling, parish priest and qualified witness.

1791, August 9: Joseph Hirt, 62 years, and Cecilia Metzger, born Kneil, 50 years. Present as witnesses, John Carolus and George Merz, they being thus requested.

1791, September 21: Joseph Taub, 50 years, and Catherine Tripel, born Antoni, 41 years. Witnesses present and so requested, George Merz, Lawrence Antoni.

1791, November 2: Patrick Reily, 31 years, and Nanci Fourth, 28 years. Witnesses present, Joseph Hirt and Caspar Michenfelder, thereto requested.

1791, November 30: Matthew Kemp and Catherine Grünwald; witnesses present, Caspar Michelfelder and Philip Schmit, Dulpehackenland (of the Tulpehocken district).

1791, 25 November: Richard Nagle, 22 years, and Maria Reyly, 22 years. Witnesses present, Caspar Michenfelder and Hughes Tamery.

1791: Joseph Obold, 23 years, and Maria Margaret Tutt, 21. Witnesses present, Simon Eckenrod and Philip Schmidt.

1792, May 28: John Cresman, 25 years, and Maria Christina Huber, 16. Witnesses present, Michael Huber and George Sturmbach.

1792, July 3: George Merz and Maria Huber; present as witnesses, Louis Heckman and Joseph Hirt, Margaret Hirt.

1793, January 31: Samuel Lily and Hanna Cooper.

1793, February 3: — Becker and Sally Reily; witness present, John Creither.

1793, April 21: Darby M'Conekel (McGonigal?) and Mary Butler; witnesses present, John Galacher, Michael Galagher.

1793, August 6: Patrick Fitzgerald and Mary Bally (born Mayer?). Witness, Patrick Fitzgerald.

Baptismal Records St. Mary's Church, Lancaster 353

1793, September —: Catherine ———

1793, October —: John M'Laughlin and Margaret Muts (?). Witness,
David Fitzgerald.

December 8, 1794: I joined in matrimony James Conway and Ann McIlhenny; witnesses present were Patrick Grinne, Stephen Meguire, Thomas Painter, Joseph Rimbeau (Rambo?), who live in Lancaster and are acquainted with both parties: whom I joined in accord with the law of this region, as is evidenced by terms of the license to me tendered.

John Oubly (?)

Patrick Green

Janin, priest.

7 December 1794.

(A. D. 1795) On the seventeenth day of the month of May, the banns being published on the Sunday after Ascension, and at the close of divine services, in the afternoon, I joined in matrimony before the undersigned witnesses, with the usual rites and ceremonies, Anthony Guinter and Christina Hooke; the parties giving mutual consent in the words of the present contract.

Mongrand, priest.

Witnesses of the contracted matrimony:

P. A. Peticolas Andrew Huck

Nicholaus Günther

Anthony Hook.

A. D. 1795. On the second day of the month of August, the banns being published in church on Sunday after divine services: in the afternoon I joined in matrimony with the usual rites and ceremonies, before the undersigned witnesses, Charles Dawty (Dougherty?) and Nanci Brand; the parties giving mutual consent in terms of the present contract.

Mongrand, priest.

Witnesses of the contracted matrimony:

Paddy McGarvey

Andrew Hay.

A. D. 1796, November 1, after the banns had been twice published in this church, were joined in matrimony by me the undersigned, openly in the sight of the church, Joseph Shiff, lawful son of Joseph and the late Anna Maria Shiff, and Maria Kraus, lawful daughter of Leonard and Agatha Graus, both living in the village of Elizabethtown. Witnesses were Leonard Graus and Leonard Graus, Jr.

(Next occur the following names without formal connection. Possibly they represent outlines of marriage records.)

Richard Butler Maria Armstrong Maria Hamilton James—

Owing Sullivan Eleanor Hunold

Neal M'Fadin Joanna Boyle, (widow?) of Patrick (?)

16 November 1797.

A. D. 1797, October 15, after the banns had been published once in this church by me the undersigned, were joined in the bond of matrimony openly in the sight of the Church, Peter Stocksleger, lawful son of Philip and Magdalena Stocksleger, and Anna Pechtel, lawful daughter of Abraham and Esther Pechtel. Witnesses were Philip Stocksleger and Caspar Stocksleger.

Louis Barth.

October 7, 1798: James Rudy, Margaret Sadler.

June 13, 1799: John Singler and Mary Ann Fisher.

October 8, 1799: George Huber and Catherine Schrodt.

November 14, 1799: Adam Dallet, Maria Stocksleger.

January 6, 1800: Arthur M'Culur (McCulloch?) and Maria M'Cafferty.

January 9, 1800: ——— and Maria Schrodt.

July 20, 1800: John Kelly and Hannah Barker.

Next page of manuscript is badly blurred and blotted, and some entries for 1797 occur mixed with 1798.

Peter M'Fee A. D. 1798, September 2: Neal Dougherty to Liddy Dougherty.

John Francis dead (husband?) of Joanna.

John Maria Easter day 1797 16 April.

John B. Sullivan Eleanor Hainold widow of Samuel on the 1st day of September 1797

September 6, 1797: John Gallegher. Susan, wife of Daniel (?), and Alice, wife of George. (This apparently blind record stands in the Latin original: "die 6a. 7 bris 97 John Gallegher. Danielis Susanna sponsa et Alitia Georgii.")

Year 1797. September 2, 1798. William Vane (?) and Elizabeth Gouty.

Laughlin Dougherty and Sarah Hagan, February 21, 1798.

John M'Groarty (and) Catherine Boyle, March 14, 1798.

May 26: L. Graus. August 30, 1798; James O'Bryan.

— 28: James M'Gleade and Catherine Cave, in the presence of Neal Dough and James Calwell.

Here follows what would seem to be a memorandum of confessions:

June 1804 Confessions

Christina Waltern

Malchior Walterin (*sic*, with feminine suffix; possibly by one unused to German forms?)

Maria Hitzelberger	Anna Maria Stormbach	Barbara Fitzgerald
John Fitzgerald	James ———	Michael Dougherty
F ———	24 June	Catherine Friel
		20.

1804. MARRIAGES FOR FEBRUARY. 5TH (?).

Before witnesses Peter Carolus and Anthony Hooke, with episcopal dispensation in the matter of publishing the banns. Joseph Triple

and Mary Smith, both of this parish, enter holy bonds of matrimony, with nuptials blessed.

Francis Fitzsimons, local missionary.

February 3, before witnesses Patrick Green and Bernard Friel, entered holy bonds of matrimony, Patrick Tierney (?) and Catherine Friel. Nuptials blessed.

Francis Fitzsimons.

February 6, before witnesses Roberts Burn and N. Clonnell (?), entered holy bonds of matrimony, James Rogers and Jeannette McClosky, widow. Nuptials were blest by Francis Fitzsimons. Both of this parish.

February 25, 1804. Daniel Smith and Anna Kennedy, both of Columbia, contracted the sacred obligations of matrimony in the presence of James Kennedy and John Smith *alias* M'Goan. Nuptials were blessed. Fr. Fitzsimons.

May 31. John Magrorty and Catherine Boner contracted the sacred obligations of matrimony in the presence of Patrick McBarron and Henry Gillin. Nuptials were blessed by Francis Fitzsimons.

April 12. Bernard Maglaughlin and Rose Walls, both of Lancaster, entered the holy bonds of matrimony in the presence of N. Maglade and Maria Walls. Nuptials blessed by Francis Fitzsimons.

May 9. Patrick Sheils and Isabella Lang contracted the sacred obligations of matrimony in the presence of George Christman (?) and Jeannette Lang. Nuptials blessed by

H. Francis Fitzsimons.

May 24. Isaac O'Donnell and Elizabeth Griffy, 19 years united before heretical magistracy, were to-day publicly reconciled to the Church in the presence of Patrick Sheils and Maria Nugent and Isabella Lang. Nuptials blessed by Fr. Fitzsimons.

(This completes the contents of Liber Baptismalis & Matrimonialis & Funeralis. . . .)

THE REV. THEODORE BROUWERS, O.F.M.

Missionary in the West Indies and the Pioneer Priest in Western Pennsylvania.

BY REV. FELIX FELLNER, O.S.B.

The first priest who established a permanent residence in Western Pennsylvania was Father Theodore Brouwers, a Franciscan from Holland. The early life of this founder of the present St. Vincent parish was, until lately, wrapped in obscurity.¹ Last summer, however, researches in the Baltimore archives established the fact that this venerable missionary came to the United States from the island of Curaçao, West Indies. Upon new investigation in the archives of this Vicariate Apostolic in the Dutch Antilles,² and in the records of the Franciscan monastery, Weert, Holland,³ a more complete account of the life of this pioneer priest of the diocese of Pittsburgh can be compiled.

In July, 1776—a month and a year always memorable in the annals of our country—Mgr. Ignatius Busca, the Apostolic nuncio at Brussels, transferred the missions of Curaçao from the Dominican Fathers to the German-Belgian province of the Franciscan Order. This induced Father Peter Schmising, Provincial for the Netherlands,

¹“St. Vincent in Philadelphia,” Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B. 1873. “Sportman’s Hall and St. Vincent Abbey,” St. Vincent Journal, Vincent Huber, O.S.B. 1892. Am. Cath. Hist. Rec., iii, 143.

²P. A. Euwens, O.P., Curaçao, Antill, Holland, Feb., 1914.

³Gisbertus Hesse, O.F.M., Weert, Holland, March, 1914.

to call for volunteers in this new field of labor entrusted to his care. The zeal of this branch of the great family of St. Francis has always been beyond reproach, and on this occasion showed itself by the fact that within a short time many offered themselves for the arduous duties of such a missionary life. It seems Father Brouwers was one of the first ones, because his Superior chose the new missionaries from the first applicants only. Moreover, he must have been looked upon as the best qualified for such work, since he was appointed as the head of this missionary band. And, humanly speaking, his past life had been such as to give fair promise of success.

Father Brouwers was born at Rotterdam in 1738. At that time the Calvinistic government of the Netherlands tolerated the exercise of Catholic religion only in so far as to grant private devotions or at the highest to connive at the services for political reasons. The faithful depended on the ministration of the Franciscan fathers. Without doubt the lives of these heroic men influenced the young man sufficiently to bring about a desire to combine religious life with missionary activity among his countrymen. For this purpose he entered the Friars' Convent at Louvain and pronounced his solemn vows, Oct. 27, 1758. Four years afterwards (June 5, 1762), the talented religious was raised to the priesthood at Mechlin, Belgium. The latter fact is rather significant as a proof of his sound Catholic doctrine. Both the Austrian as well as the Dutch Netherlands were then permeated with the doctrine of Jansenism, but Mechlin under its celebrated Bishop, Henry, Cardinal of Frankenberg, who probably also ordained him, enjoyed the distinction of being the center of Catholic activity against these pernicious errors. Two years later, Father Theodore became lector of theology in the seminary of his province Venlo, in the county of Limburg, Holland.

In 1767 he was appointed professor of philosophy at the same seat of learning, and in 1770 his Superiors sent him to the Franciscan monastery of Brussels to teach Holy Scriptures to the younger members of his order.

From this city and from the lecture-room Father Brouwers left for the missions in Curaçao during the month of September, 1776. He was well provided with material means and in spiritual matters his Superiors had granted him the special faculties to confer the sacrament of Confirmation with Chrism blessed by any Catholic bishop. The voyage from Amsterdam to Willemstad, the capital of the island, took exactly two months, which seemed extraordinarily favorable for that time.

From the date of landing, however, November 18, there began a period of great trials for these missionaries. First a medley of nations and of creeds with a slave population that had a language of its own caused difficulties. Then the whole island had been without any priest for some time, and only one poor dilapidated church, dedicated to St. Ann, served as a place of worship. At the same time the disposition of the majority of Catholics towards religion was anything but friendly and false accusations had driven the last pastor away. All this disheartened Father Brouwers' two companions, Father John Luyten and Peter van den Vondel, to such an extent that they left the colony during the year 1777. Now the Superior of the mission was all alone in his missionary work. The amount of his labors during the following months may be judged from the one fact that according to the baptismal register on several Sundays he poured the water of regeneration on the heads of 40, 60 and even 100 infants. Most of these were the children of slaves, who kept the faith of their ancestors under Spanish rule, in spite of the efforts of their present masters who urged them to conform to the Calvinisti

state religion. In 1778, however, Father Schenck arrived, and he proved to be both a good priest as well as a valuable companion.

At the same time other difficulties, especially with the civil powers, loomed up. The enmities of these authorities towards the Catholic Church are on record in a unique report of Father Brouwers to the congregation of the Propagation of Faith in Rome in 1785. In this document the missionary stated that, under penalties of 500 florins, the government of Curaçao required of Catholics that their marriages be witnessed by the civil magistrates or by the Protestant ministers, before they could validly be married by their pastor. Moreover, his report says, Catholics were obliged to pay the exorbitant marriage fee of 50 florins to enjoy the legal service of these state officials. Such an iniquitous law rendered Catholic marriages not only subject to civil power, but made them even altogether impossible because the greater majority had not the means to pay for such a "State Privilege." Therefore upon the appeal of F. Brouwers the Sacred Congregation granted the singular ecclesiastic privilege to these people that they could validly marry without the concurrence of either state official or their own pastor, but with the injunction that their marriage be duly authorized by witnesses and then registered with their pastor.⁴

Lastly, the growing spirit of infidelity of the eighteenth century brought a number of ecclesiastics unworthy of their calling to the island, and their presence caused disturbances in the Catholic community. All these trials were bravely sustained by the intrepid Superior till 1787, when for some unknown special reason he departed from Curaçao. Recent inquiries have been unsuccessful as to

⁴Gasparri. *Tractatus Canonicus de Matrimonia*, Paris, 1891, II. 966.

the question whether Father Brouwers left the island for Holland⁵ or whether he came directly to the United States, whose liberal tendency in religious matters must have strongly appealed to him. His last entry in the baptismal register of his mission occurs April 17th, 1787, and the next time we meet his name is in Philadelphia, January 12th, 1789, in a subscription to the apologetic book, "The Unerring Authority of the Church."⁶ It is very probable that he went from the West Indies to some southern port, and from there along the Eastern coast of the continent until he found a hospitable welcome in the City of Brotherly Love. In Philadelphia he remained a few months with Father John B. Charles Helbron, O.M.Cap., the pastor of Holy Trinity Church, although there is no evidence that he took part in the schismatic tendencies of that congregation. During this time the news reached him that Catholics in the western part of the State clamored for a priest, and in spite of the endeavors of the parishioners of Holy Trinity Church to retain him, he decided at once to go westward. Before he departed, however, he bought a tract of land of 154 acres from a certain Arthur O'Neil, of Chester County (O'Neil's Victory, Seven Mile Farm), for £106. The contract was made August 7th, 1789,⁷ probably a few days before he set out on the "State-road" which passed through his new parish. As the life of this missionary from this time on is known more minutely, only the most important facts, with a few new illustrations are here given.⁸ Father Brouwers was well provided with

⁵ The Provincial Archives of Weert contain no record that he returned to Holland.

⁶ *Researches*, Vol. XVI, 182.

⁷ Westmoreland County Deed Book, page 249 (copy in "St. Vincent in Pennsylvania," p. 357).

⁸ St. Vinzenz in Pennsylvanien, *St. Vincent Journal*. 1892.

pecuniary means, clothing and other necessities to start at once a flourishing Catholic settlement. But unhappily the place which he had bought was in many ways ill suited for his purpose. The land proved to be too poor to repay labors and expenses besides, being too far distant from the greater number of his scattered flock. In this adversity he found two valuable friends, Henry Kuhn and Christian Ruffner, who lent him good advice and ready help.

The former directed the thoughts of the missionary towards a desirable property then for sale; the latter opened to him his home near Crabtree, and this became the temporary church of the congregation during the following winter.⁹ Finally, April 16th, 1790, Father Brouwers bought that tract of land, called Sportsman's Hall, comprising 313 acres and allowances, from Joseph Hunter for £475.¹⁰ On this farm stands the present St. Vincent Archabbey and College, and the hut, as Father Brouwers found it, was north of the present Abbey Church. The earliest description of the property as improved by him is found in the Baltimore Archives of 1792:¹¹ "Mr. Brouwers' place 300 acres of as good land as can be, of which about 60 acres cleared and near forty acres more, nearly so; about 20 acres of made meadow and 80 more may be converted into meadow, a comfortable dwelling-house for the priest, consisting of two rooms with a kitchen adjoining; another dwelling-house for the farmer $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distant. Two tolerably good

⁹ St. Vincenz in Pennsylvanien, Oswald Moosmüller, O.S.B. 1893. Father A. A. Lambing, LL.D., however, a grandson of *Simon* Ruffner, asserts that he has good tradition in his favor that Father Brouwers was the guest of *Simon* Ruffner.

¹⁰ Westmoreland County Deed Book D, page 450 (copy in St. Vincent Journal).

¹¹ Baltimore Archives, IX, C. II. 1792.

barns and another out-house which may be converted into a stable."

"Another place, about 5 miles distant of between one and two hundred acres of tolerable land—Improvements on it; about 40 acres cleared, house and small barn for the farmer.

"Two beds and bedsteads, chairs and tables and other household and kitchen furniture.

"At Greensburgh . . . chapel under roof."

The new pastor, however, was granted only a short term to labor in this new vineyard of the Lord. As he remodeled the old building and erected new ones, periodical attacks of fainting caused him increased difficulties in the performance of his duties. During early autumn his sickness became so alarming that he applied to Father James Pellentz, of Conewago, one of the Vicars-General of the diocese of Baltimore, to which Father Brouwers' parish belonged. Then by a testament dated October 24th, 1790, he transferred all his real estate "to his priestly successor in trust with the injunction to say every year four Masses for the repose of his soul and to transmit the land to his successor free of all incumbrance."¹² Five days afterwards this memorable life of Father Brouwers came to a close, and in accordance with this same will he was buried in the little graveyard on his estate, now within the walls of the Archabbey building. Unfortunately the last days of this eminent missionary were saddened by the unpriestly conduct of Father J. B. Cause, a brother in religion.¹³ The insatiable desire of this Franciscan for the goods of this world even prompted him to deny Father Brouwers the

¹² Westmoreland County Book of Wills. Copy in "St. Vincent in Pennsylvania," App., p. 363.

¹³ Letter of Cause: Request of Faculties. Philadelphia, 1785, August 9th, signed: Joannes Cause, Recole, Balto. Archives, II, M. 2.

Holy Sacraments, unless he would transfer all his movable property to the "poor Mission of Conewago"—a ruse to get it himself. These goods were quite valuable, and were appraised¹⁴ November 17th, 1790, for £617. Moreover, Father Theodore had \$1,146 in a Philadelphia bank. All this was appropriated by this wolf in sheep's clothing, who left the place shortly afterwards and became so notorious in the East that Bishop Carroll was forced to excommunicate him. Nor did this end the troubles that were caused by the will of F. Brouwers. But in compliance with the same testament his executors took good care of his grave, as the following note of April 16th, 1799, testifies: "Received from Henry Coon one dollar for building a wall around the Rev.d Bruwers' grave by me. Peter Cole."¹⁵ Later, when the cemetery where the body of Father Brouwers was laid to rest was transferred (1862) to the present location on the brow of the hill, his remains were disinterred and placed into the vault under the plain stone cross overlooking our silent city of the dead. They lie there on the side of the body of the Archabbot Boniface Wimer, to whose energy and zeal is due the founding of the first Benedictine Abbey in the United States on the property bought by Father Brouwers. The work of these two pioneers will be forever linked, and is, even to-day, joined in the minds of the old parishioners. The community, however, not only strictly adheres to the conditions of his testament, but yearly pays a special tribute to his memory by a solemn Requiem on the anniversary of his death.

¹⁴ St. Vincent Journal, I, 218 seqq. Rev. Vincent Huber, O.S.B.

¹⁵ St. Vincent Archabbey Archives. (Brouwers.)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC REFUGEES ON THE CONTINENT—1558-1795. Vol. I. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries—1558-1795. By the Rev. Peter Guilday, Docteur ès Sciences Morales et Historiques (Louvain). Longmans, Green & Company, New York and London.

If anything was needed to intensify the interest of Dr. Guilday's epoch-making work—though it is difficult to believe that this should be possible—it is the fact that it deals with the nations, the countries, the cities, on which the eyes of the whole world are fixed to-day.

It is a curious and significant coincidence that Belgium, and that part of Northern France which is at this moment being contested foot by foot by the opposing armies of Europe, should be the very countries—for the boundaries are, geographically, almost exactly identical—to which the English Catholic exiles of the XVIth century fled for refuge and liberty. So, since this book was published, have the hapless refugees of glorious, devastated Belgium poured into England to escape from a peril even more relentless, more resistless, more awful than that of Elizabeth. Yet England, in welcoming them to her great heart, little realizes as a nation what she owes to these heroic sufferers. Probably only a small proportion even of English Catholics is aware of the fact that, but for the generous welcome afforded to the Elizabethan Exiles by the Low Countries, the Catholic Church in England to-day would be a mere mission of (comparatively) recent foundation, instead of representing, as she does, actually, the very same Church which Elizabeth endeavored to destroy.

"The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558-1795" is the first of a set of three volumes

under the general title of "The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1559-1795," which it is earnestly to be hoped the learned author will one day be able to complete. Such a work, if the present volume be taken as typical, would not only be of unique historical value, but should prove of compelling interest to all intelligent Catholic readers. In the second volume Dr. Guilday will take up the special aspects of the activity of the English Catholic Exiles; particularly in their relation to the English counter-Reformation. In the third, which is also in course of construction, the author will take up the question of the English Catholic Refugees in America, showing the intimate connection between early educational and religious life in the United States, and these exiled Colleges and Convents of Belgium.

Having said so much—and it was necessary to say it at the outset, that the scope and magnitude of Dr. Guilday's great contribution to Catholic literature and history be fully understood and clearly stated—let us turn to Vol. I. There are two ways of treating the subject: (1) to give the general history of all the Refugees; and (2) to go into the different and special aspects of their various activities. "The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries" deals entirely with their general history. In the Introduction, which is in itself brimful of interest, the subject is put *en rapport* with similar exile-movements. "There can be no complete history of that religious fervour among English Catholics of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries," says the writer, "which forced so many of them into exile on the Continent, and particularly into the Catholic Low Countries; no all-round and adequate judgment of the English Catholic *diaspora*, unless it be studied in its relation to the similar movement of French, Dutch, and Walloon Protestant exiles during this same period. We have grown so accustomed to eulogies of the Huguenot exiles and condemnation of the lack of patriotism shown by English Catholics, that any readjustment of our ideas on the question seems well-nigh hopeless. And yet historical justice demands new light on the aims and policy of the Catholic exiles. The meager efforts that have

been made up to the present on the part of historical students to vindicate these loyal exiles of pre-Emancipation days, and the lack of any synthetic literature on the subject, have been lost sight of in the great mass of numerous and serious historical studies which have been written in English and French to perpetuate the deeds and to vindicate the policy of the continental Protestant exiles in England."

Few, if any, modern writers are better qualified than Dr. Guilday to throw on his subject the "new light" of which he speaks. Though he modestly refers to himself as an "inexperienced beginner in historical studies," and to his valuable work—which it is difficult to realize is a first book—as "only a beginner's thesis for his doctorate", not even the most unlearned reader who turns these pages can fail to be deeply impressed with the evidences of profound study and genuine scholarship manifest on each, while to the serious student and the historian the book will prove to be a veritable mine of wealth. There are certain periods which up to the present day, for one reason or another, await their chronicler. Such a period was the difficult and dangerous time of the Foundation Movement—but it has not waited in vain! Here in this book the compelling, pathetic story is unrolled to the last word.

The first chapter deals with the impulses in general which led to the English Catholic exile in Belgium. Beginning with the earliest of these exiles, the Carthusians and the Brigittines of Syon (chs. II and III), the writer goes on to consider in turn the English College at Douay; the English Jesuits; the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the English Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Canonesses of St. Augustine and of the Holy Sepulchre, and Dominicans. From their toilsome and painful beginnings he leads us on to the foundation of the first Tridentine Seminary, the celebrated English College at Douay; the center of the Movement, and the base from which so many heroic priests—many of them martyrs—started upon the Catholic Reconquest of England. The English College at Rome was shortly after founded, and the Spanish Colleges—Valladolid, Seville, Madrid—each of

which is described at length, and in interesting detail. Naturally, all young men in these Colleges did not have a vocation to the secular priesthood; and many having vocations for the Religious Life entered one or other of the different Orders—Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans—which had a House in any of those cities in which the Colleges existed. Then, when a nucleus of English monks was thus formed in one of these monasteries, its members generally started an English foundation of their own. By this means the continuity of the exiled Orders was insured.

This course, however, met with great opposition very often, even from Catholics; while of course Elizabeth, through her unique, vast, and perfectly-organized spy-system worked it furiously to the extent of all her resources. It may be said in passing that not the least valuable, and certainly one of the most interesting features of Dr. Guilday's book, is the evidence of hitherto unpublished MSS.—such as "A Cataloge of certayn English Catholicks, Religious, Preests, Jesuits & Others Dispersed in Divers Places"—as to this spy-system. Spies were everywhere, and that they were masters of their shameful trade is proved by the fact that very few details, and practically no important matters relating to the life of any of the Colleges or Convents went unreported.

The document above referred to covers nearly five pages of very small print (pp. 14-18), and gives the names, so far as they were known, of all the principal exiles in Flanders: "Att Dowaye . . . Brussells . . . Makeland (Mechlin) . . . Anwerpe . . . Tornon . . . Gaunt . . . Lisle . . . Arras", in France, at nine places, from "St. Maloes" to "Lions", and from "Bayone" and "Tolose" to "Reymes"; in Germany; and, of course, in Italy, "att Rome". "Preests in the coll", students in "Divinitye, Philosophie, Logicke, Retorick & Poetry", "Grammarians" and "Other Pentioners"—even "Wemen in all parts of Flindrs" are here all exactly set down, in many cases with an uncomplimentary frankness of comment which in any other connection would be irresistibly amusing; together "wth many other eyther unknown or unworthy the naminge"! The book, however, is full of such

first-hand evidence as to the anti-Catholic foreign policy of Elizabeth and her unscrupulous advisers.

An interesting example of the tendency of the exiles to form new Foundations from the novitiate of a foreign Order is afforded by the history of the Benedictines. "Before the close of the sixteenth century, a number of young men from the English Colleges in Italy and Spain joined the Benedictine Monasteries in these countries, and in the first years of James I's reign their number had grown large enough to warrant the establishment of a Benedictine Mission in England". Just as in many cases there had been strong feeling as to the students abandoning the Seminary for the Monastery, so also was there sustained opposition against the new Foundation, which was eventually made at Douay, by the English Jesuits, whose policy in this matter it is extremely difficult to define. "The English Benedictines themselves have done very little to clear up these dissensions. . . . New evidence must be forthcoming on this very painful subject before a decision can be reached. . . . The more one reads of the original letters connected with the case, the less anxious one becomes to set down anything at all on this burning question", says Dr. Guilday, whose skill in dealing with this difficult matter, into which he again enters in the chapter on the English Jesuits, where he also treats the even more thorny question of the long-drawn-out quarrel between Seculars and Religious, is certainly not that of a "beginner".

This chapter on the English Jesuits is perhaps the most valuable, because obviously the most difficult to write, of any in the book. It is a masterpiece, not only of style, but of careful and critical presentation of the facts as they are known. The dilemma which faced the writer, he tells us, was twofold. "Should all mention of conflicts be avoided entirely? And secondly, if these conflicts were entered into, . . . to what extent would it be necessary to explain them? The impulse was to avoid them entirely, and that for two reasons. First, because the documents at our disposal for the part the Society of Jesus played in the drama at Valladolid, at Douay, at Rome, on the Missions, and in Flanders, are

small in number compared to the materials which are at hand for the same story from the standpoint of the Seculars and the English Benedictines. Moreover, the literature on the subject is so impregnated with bitterness against the Society that it would be impossible not to be influenced, unconsciously at least, by its acid. In the second place, it seemed the valour of rashness to attempt a solution of difficulties which are still unsolved by English historical writers, and which neither the years nor the experience nor the study, which have gone into the making of this work, would postulate or justify."

How Dr. Guilday solves the dilemma his readers will judge. Were there nothing else of vital importance in this attractive chapter, it would still claim our interest for the remarkable character-sketch of the greatly misunderstood Father Robert Persons, who need himself have wished for no more skilful, tender, though absolutely impartial biographer.

But Colleges, Monasteries, and Seminaries for men were by no means the only activities of the Foundation Movement. Naturally, English Catholics were as anxious for the education of their daughters as of their sons; and the Convents in Belgium and France which educated young girls attracted a goodly number of their pupils from England. Many of these girls had vocations, and entered the Flemish or French Orders in which they had been educated. In one case, that of the Austin Canonesses of Louvain, we find an Englishwoman Prioress of a Flemish Convent. Most of these Englishwomen were of noble or gentle birth, and innumerable difficulties gradually cropped up, some concerning differences of birth and social standing in regard to their sister-Religious; some being questions of race, and even of food. It became desirable that separate English Convents should be founded; and so began the different English Houses of Poor Clares, Carmelites, etc.

The Canon Law of the Church at that time insisted so strictly on enclosure that Active Orders cannot in reality be said to exist. The necessity of saving the young English Catholic girls to the Faith was becoming more and more apparent, when, at this critical juncture, God raised up a pioneer

in Mary Ward, whose Convents and Institutions . . . the Institute of Mary, as it is called to-day . . . grew and flourished so wonderfully, that not only English, but French, German, and Italian schools were scattered by her all over Europe. Mary Ward, in fact, with her radiant courage and attractive personality, may really claim to be considered the heroine of Dr. Guilday's book.

The whole Foundation Movement suffered with every rise and fall of the political and religious barometer in England; and during the Commonwealth (1649-1660) the Colleges and Convents were on the verge of extinction. After this time a gradual decline sets in; and the French Revolution came as a blessing in disguise to drive the English Catholic Exiles back again into England; where they began that wonderful system of religious and educational life which is to-day the bulwark of the Faith in that country.

No mere review, of course, can do real justice to a book of so extended a scope as this. Its value simply as a work of reference can only be understood by studying the Bibliography, the exhaustive footnotes, and glancing over the MSS. quoted in the Appendix. The MSS. consulted by Dr. Guilday in Rome alone amounted to the extraordinary figure of (nearly) 2,000! The larger proportion of this number were bound volumes. Apart even from the book, this Bibliography alone, covering as it does no less than 30 closely-printed pages, clears the ground scientifically for those scholars who may be inspired to follow in its compiler's footsteps.

The work itself was originally inspired by the fact that in 1908 the Belgian Minister of Education offered the thesis which forms the title of this book to the University of Louvain. Two Jesuit priests, Frs. Willaert and Lechat, worked on it, with results which appear in Dr. Guilday's Bibliography; the former treating the political, the latter the economic aspect. In March, 1912, less than two years ago, the author of the present volume decided to treat the religious aspect of the subject, and began his researches by a journey into Spain, to study the Archives of such centers as Simancas, Seville, and Madrid. Three months later he went on a similar errand to

Rome, which he left for England in April, 1913; and here he was able to study the State Archives at the Public Record Office. The results of these labors are embodied in the Bibliography, as are also those of his further researches in France, and in the libraries of Belgian universities. It should add to the interest of the book to remember the pathetic fact that it was the last thesis to be presented for the *Doctorat ès Sciences Morales et Historiques* at the University of Louvain.

We congratulate Dr. Guilday warmly on the publication of this really great work; on the unwearied labor which was necessary to accumulate so rich a store of learning, and to present it to the world in so scholarly and readable a form. We congratulate him on his style—his long residence in England may have exerted an influence here—but most of all we congratulate him on the spirit in which this book is written. Its writer should go far. We shall eagerly await the appearance of the next of the promised volumes, for the present one will be hard to beat for interest. It is a book to be read, to be studied—but, above all, to be possessed.

POPULAR SERMONS ON THE CATECHISM, from the German of Rev. A. Hubert Bamberg, edited by Rev. Herbert Thurston S. J. Vol. I. Faith.

The literature of catechetical instruction is so large and varied that no work can be said to fill "a long-felt want;" but the volume before us brings with it ample apology to claim for itself a high rank among books of the same genus. While the chapters are denominated sermons, they could hardly be delivered as discourses exactly as they stand; they are explanatory Sunday School lessons. The familiar method is followed of using the articles of the Apostle's Creed as the framework for the instructions and the logical order is as perfectly jointed as a skeleton. The author's explanations of Christian Doctrine are irresistible in their logic, reasoned like the theorems of geometry but in a style which makes the treatment what we call popular. The common objections against faith are fairly stated and well if briefly met. The examples and illustrations are well chosen, though at times the figures

that have done perennial service in catechetical instructions might well give place to more modern comparisons whose novelty would make them more effective. The style is unpretentious; popular, again, is the word to describe it, though there are many passages of striking beauty. The strain of pious reflection and application of belief recommends the volume as a book of spiritual reading at once interesting, instructive, and edifying.

Too much praise cannot be given to the translator, Father Thurston. So many books are rendered from the German into English with their Teutonic grammatical structure unimpaired that it is refreshing to read a translation in such excellent English that only the avowal on the title-page and in the introduction stamps it as anything but original.

The character of the work is excellently summed up by the translator in the following words: "The Sermons of Father Bamberg possess something of the touch of genius. This does not mean that they are necessarily brilliant in style or that they present any remarkable novelty in substance or treatment. But they are quite remarkable as examples in popular instruction, and the straightforward simplicity, which is their most conspicuous quality, is exalted by something in the personality of the author and lifted above the level of the trite or the commonplace."

WILLIAM J. LALLOU.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES. Their Founders, Histories, and Developments. How the Reformation spread. Their Beliefs, Practices, Customs, and Forms of Worship of the Different Denominations. Their Ministers, Congregations, Membership and Cost of Buildings. Information condensed from authentic sources in various languages. By Rev. James Luke Meagher, D. D., 646 pp.; Index, 647-653 pp. Christian Press Association, New York.

It is a great pity that Dr. Meagher did not adopt the method initiated by Mgr. Benson in that winsome little volume, "Non-Catholic Denominations." The latter author, writing with the intrinsic knowledge and sympathy which

personal knowledge of a subject imparts, realized that if his work was to draw and not repel those outside the fold, it could only be by starting from the common grounds of agreement, that is, by determining the truths which Protestants still retain in common with Catholics, in order that from such partial communality, advance might be made towards complete reconciliation. Much good may be hoped for from this method, while the opposite path of antagonism pursued in the book before us can only lead to a greater widening of the chasm that separates the churches from the Church. Even were the scandals rehearsed about the early "Reformers" literally true, they were a vain argument against the rank and file of moral Protestants who have themselves abhorred the like foulness of character in the Christian life, which many Protestants profess and practice. No good is gained by such lurid polemics; for argument-producing conversions back to the unbroken fold, plain bald statistics of the Protestant sects and subdivisions of sects, ought to weigh far more gravely. But even the tersely descriptive and statistical portions of the present volume seem to lack definite precision, and are put forth with marks of haste rather condonable in daily newspapers than in a work that would accomplish solid results.

READINGS IN INDIANA HISTORY. Published by the Indiana State Teachers' Association.

To stimulate the study of the history of Indiana, the Indiana University has published a volume of nearly five hundred pages, comprising original or first-hand materials grouped in sections to suggest the principal features involved in the foundation and the development of that commonwealth. The materials are from many sources. There is a generous compilation of instructive chapters from a history by Judge David Demaree Banta, Henry R. Schoolcraft, who specialized in the history of the Indian tribes of the United States; Colonel George Croghan, who spent most of his life in the Indian country, and whose writings concern the various tribes along the Ohio and Wabash rivers, and the coming of the French to

Indiana; George Rogers Clark, who conquered the Northwest; Senator David Turpee, and many others.

The volume is not a consecutive history of the State, but a carefully selected series of papers and abstracts from historical works that will serve to illuminate some phases of the life of the people in the formative periods of that northwest region which was erected into a State December 11, 1816.

In consequence of this limitation, any comment on the results of the Committee of the History Section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association may be confined to the spirit and scope of the selections. It may be suggested that the committee in making up the chapters or divisions relating to the religious life of the pioneers was remiss in failing to include adequate accounts of the labors of the Catholic clergy, but it may be said fairly that the matter presented is free of anything offensive to our religion. The religious symposium is devoted to the pioneer preachers of the evangelical bodies—the Presbyterians, the Methodists and the Baptists. The stories of the circuit riders and their conflicts with the irreligious part of the settlers are interesting and doubtless authentic.

Some few of the activities of the Catholic pioneer priests of the State are hinted at in several narratives. The removal of the Indians to the regions beyond the Mississippi was attended by many interesting and sometimes sorrowful circumstances. The largest band of Pottawattomie Indians, more than 700, was removed under the direction of John Tipton in 1838 from Twin Lake. "This procession in thirteen army wagons, with 400 horses, and the long train of women and children, trudging along between lines of Federal and State troops, left the lakes September 4, and proceeded slowly down the Michigan road to Logansport. At Chippewa their missionary, Father Pettit, whom Bishop Brute had kindly sent them, gathered them together for their last church service in Indiana." Father Pettit, who accompanied them to their new home on the Osage river, died from the effects of the trip.

Colonel Clark gives a graphic account of an interview with Father Gibault in Vincennes. This scholarly and intrepid priest was the rector of the Catholic churches at Kaskaskia,

Cahokia and Vincennes. The compliers of the "Readings" declared that Father Gibault "was one of those rare beings whom education and experience with the world has raised above selfishness and partisanship. History has few more beautiful characters than this early priest on the Wabash."

Father Gibault was a valuable factor in bringing many of the settlers and the Indians at Vincennes to adherence to the American cause during the Revolution. In the Clark narratives it is stated that the priest had much influence among the Indians. Believing that if they were fully acquainted with the nature of the war, their sentiments in favor of the British would greatly change, Father Gibault took it upon himself to bring Vincennes over to the American interest without Clark being at the trouble of marching troops against it.

"Father Gibault and party arrived safely, and after spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few Europeans that were left by Mr. Abbott, who immediately left the country) and went in a body to the church where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. An officer was elected and the fort immediately taken possession of and the American flag displayed to the astonishment of the Indians and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes."

A volume such as this may be made to perform a valuable educational mission, and every one of the Commonwealths of the Union might well use this as a guide and model.

P. A. KINSLEY.

OUR NEEDS

THE American Catholic Historical Society desires gifts of old newspaper clippings, scrap books, letters, pictures ; in fact, anything that has to deal with Catholics in America. We are also desirous of obtaining either by purchase or by gift the following college, university and academy catalogues or reports dating from their establishment :

Aquinas College, Columbus, O.
Campion College of the Sacred Heart.
Catholic University of America.
Columbia University, Portland, Ore.
Creighton University, Omaha, Neb.
Dallas University, of Texas.
De Paul University, Chicago, Ill.
Detroit University.
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Georgetown University.
Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass.
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Loyola College, Baltimore, Md.
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American Catholic Historical Researches, Vols. 1 to 5.

Copy of above for April, 1903.

Donahoe's Magazine, September, 1893, and January, 1902.

Dublin Review :

January, 1840.

March, December, 1844.

December, 1845.

March, June, 1848.

June, September, December, 1849.

March, June, September, December, 1850..

June, September, 1851.

1852, 1853, 1854, 1855 to December, 1856, complete.

May, 1860, April, 1881, January, 1885, January, 1887,

July, 1891.

All after April, 1893, except 1901.

Ecclesiastical Review, Vol. I.

United States Catholic Magazine, 1849.

FOR SALE

Catholic Record, Philadelphia, V. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13.

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